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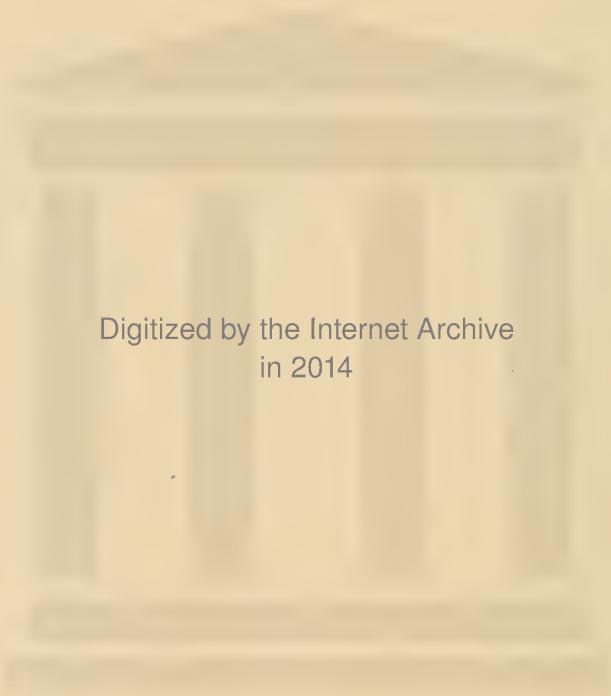

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THE

WORKS

OF THE

RIGHT REVEREND

WILLIAM WARBURTON, D.D.

LORD BISHOP OF GLOUCESTER.

A NEW EDITION,

IN TWELVE VOLUMES.

TO WHICH IS PREFIXED

A DISCOURSE BY WAY OF GENERAL PREFACE;

CONTAINING

SOME ACCOUNT OF THE LIFE, WRITINGS, AND CHARACTER OF THE AUTHOR;

BY RICHARD HURD, D.D.

LORD BISHOP OF WORCESTER.

VOLUME THE FIFTH.

London:

Printed by Luke Hansard & Sons, near Lincoln's-Inn Fields,

FOR T. CADELL AND W. DAVIES, IN THE STRAND.

1811.

SECT. III. Contains an examination of the rest of the Texts urged from the *Old Testament* - pp. 384—415

SECT. IV. Contains an examination of the Texts produced from the *New Testament*, in which the nature of the Apostolic Reasonings against the Errors of Jewish Converts is explained and illustrated - pp. 415—444

NOTES to the first four Sections - - pp. 445—483

THE

DIVINE LEGATION OF MOSES

DEMONSTRATED.

BOOK V.

SECT. I

HAVING now examined the CHARACTER of the Jewish People, and the TALENTS of their Lawgiver, I come next to consider the NATURE of that Policy, which by his ministry was introduced amongst them. For in these two enquiries I hope to lay a strong and lasting foundation for the support of the third general proposition, *That the doctrine of a future state of rewards and punishments is not to be found in, nor did make part of the Mosaic Dispensation.*

We find amongst this people a Policy differing from all the Institutions of mankind; in which the two Societies, civil and religious, were perfectly incorporated, with GOD ALMIGHTY, AS A TEMPORAL GOVERNOR, at the head of both.

The peculiar administration attending so singular a frame of Government hath always kept it from the knowledge of superficial observers. Christian writers, by considering Judaism as a Religious policy only, or

a Church; and Deists, as a Civil policy only, or a State; have run into infinite mistakes concerning the reason, the nature, and the end of its laws and institutions. And, on so partial a view of it, no wonder that neither have done justice to this amazing economy. Let us suppose, the famous picture of the female centaur by Zeuxis, where two different Natures were so admirably incorporated, that the passage from one to the other, as Lucian tells us*, became insensible; let us, I say, suppose this picture to have been placed before two competent judges, yet in such different points of view, that the one could see only the *brutal*, the other the *human* part; would not the first have thought it a beautiful horse, and the second, as beautiful a woman; and would not each have given the creature supposed to be represented such functions as he judged proper to the species in which he ranked it? But would not both of them have been mistaken; and would not a sight of the whole have taught them to rectify their wrong judgments? as well knowing that the functions of such a compounded animal, whenever it existed, must be very different from those of either of the other, singly and alone. From such partial judges of the LAW therefore, little assistance is to be expected towards the discovery of its true nature.

Much less are we to expect from the Jewish Doctors: who, though they still keep sheltered, as it were, in the ruins of this august and awful Fabric; yet patch

* Τὴν θήλειαν δὲ ἵππου γε τῆς καλλίστης, οἵαι μάλιστα αἱ Θετταλαί εἰσιν, ἀδμῆτις, ἔτι καὶ ἄβαλοι· τὸ δ' ἄνω ἠμίτομον, γυναικὸς, ὡράκαλον, —καὶ ἡ μίξις δὲ, καὶ ἡ ἁρμογὴ τῶν σωμάτων, καθὸ συνάπτεται καὶ συνδεῖται τῷ γυναικείῳ τὸ ἱππικὸν, ἠρέμα, καὶ ἐκ ἀθρόως μεταβαίνουσα, καὶ ἐκ προσαγωγῆς τρεπομένη, λανθάνει τὴν ὄψιν ἐκ θαλέρου, εἰς τὸ ἕτερον ὑπαλομένη. Zeuxis, c. 6. tom. i. p. 843. Edit. Reitzii, Amst. 4to, 1743.

it

it up with the same barbarity of taste, and impotence of science, that the present Greeks are wont to hide themselves amongst the mouldering monuments of Attic power and politeness. Who, as our travellers inform us, take a beggarly pride in keeping up their claim to these wonders of their Ancestors magnificence, by white-washing the Parian marble with chalk, and incrusting the porphyry and granate with tiles and potsherds.

But least of all shall we receive light from the fantastic visions of our English *Cocceians**; who have sublimed the crude nonsense of the Cabalists, so long buried in the dull amusement of picking Mysteries out of letters, into a more spiritual kind of folly; a quintessence well defecated from all the impurities of sense and meaning.

Therefore, to understand the nature of the Jewish Economy, we must begin with this truth, to which every page of the five books of Moses is ready to bear witness, *That the separation of the Israelites was in order to preserve the doctrine of the* UNITY, *amidst an idolatrous and polytheistic World.* The necessity of this provision shall be shewn at large hereafter †. At present we only desire the Deist would be so civil as to suppose there might possibly be a sufficient cause.

But now, because it is equally true, that this *separation* was fulfilling the promise made to ABRAHAM their Father; these men have taken occasion to represent it as made for the sake of a FAVOURITE PEOPLE ‡. And then again, supposing such a partial distinction to be inconsistent with the divine attri-

* The followers of Hutchinson. † In the ninth book.
‡ See the first volume of the Divine Legation.

butes, have ventured to arraign the LAW itself of imposture.

But this representation of the fact is both unjust and absurd. They cannot deny but it might be GOD's purpose, at least, that it became his goodness, to preserve the doctrine of the UNITY amidst an idolatrous world. But this (we know by the event) could never be effected but by a *separation* of one part from the rest. Nor could such a separation be made any otherwise than by bringing that part under GOD's peculiar protection: The consequence of which were GREAT TEMPORAL BLESSINGS. Now as some one People must needs be selected for this purpose, it seems most agreeable to our ideas of divine Wisdom, which commonly effects many ends by the same means, to make the *blessings* attendant on such a *selection*, the reward of some high exalted virtue in the progenitors of the chosen People. But therefore to object that they were chosen as FAVOURITES, is both unjust and absurd. The *separation* was made for the sake of Mankind in general; though one People became the honoured instrument, in reward of their Forefathers' virtues. And this is the language of those very Scriptures which, as they pretend, furnish the objection. Where God, by the Prophet Ezekiel, promises to restore the Israelites, after a short dispersion through the Countries, to their own land, he declares this to be the end of their separation: "Therefore say unto the "house of Israel, Thus saith the LORD GOD, I DO NOT "THIS FOR YOUR SAKES, O HOUSE OF ISRAEL, "BUT FOR MINE HOLY NAME'S SAKE, which ye "have profaned among the heathen whither ye went. "And I will sanctify my great name which was pro- "faned amongst the heathen, which ye have profaned "in the midst of them; and the heathen shall know "that

" that I am the LORD, saith the LORD GOD, when I " shall be sanctified in you before their eyes *." What GOD himself says of the PEOPLE, St. Paul says of their LAW: " Wherefore then serveth the Law? IT " WAS ADDED BECAUSE OF TRANSGRESSIONS: till " the seed should come, to whom the promise was " made †." *It was added*, says the Apostle. To what? To the patriarchal Religion of the UNITY ‡. To what end? *Because of transgressions*, i. e. the transgressions of polytheism and idolatry; into which, the rest of mankind were already absorbed, and the Jews at that time, hastening apace; and from which there was no other means of restraining them, than by this ADDITION; an addition that kept them separate from all others, and preserved the doctrine of the UNITY till the *coming of the promised seed*.

But another thing offends the Deists: they cannot understand, let the end of this choice be what it would, why GOD should prefer so perverse and sottish a People, to all others. One reason hath been given already; that it was for the sake of their Forefathers, and to fulfil the promise made to the Patriarchs. But others are not wanting; and those very agreeable to the ideas we have of infinite Wisdom; such, for instance, as this, That the EXTRAORDINARY PROVIDENCE, by which they were blessed and protected, might become the more visible and illustrious. For had they been endowed with the shining qualities of the more polished nations, the effects of that providence might have been ascribed to their own power or wisdom. Their impotence and inability, when left to themselves, is finely represented in the Prophet Ezekiel, by the similitude of the vine-tree: *Son of*

* Ezek. xxxvi. 22, 23. † Gal. iii. 19.

‡ See note [A] at the end of this Book.

*man, what is the vine-tree more than any tree, or than a branch which is amongst the trees of the forest? Shall wood be taken thereof to do any work? or will men take a pin of it to hang any vessel thereon?— Therefore thus saith the Lord God, As the vine-tree amongst the trees of the forest**, &c. For as the vine, which, with cultivation and support, is the most valuable of all trees, becomes the most worthless, when left neglected in its own natural state: so the Jews, who made so superior a figure under the particular protection of GOD, when, for their sins, that protection was withdrawn, became the weakest and most contemptible of all tributary nations.

The Poet VOLTAIRE indeed has had a different revelation. "The pride of every individual amongst "the Jews (says he) is interested in believing, that it "was not their DETESTABLE POLICY, their ignorance "in the arts, and their unpoliteness, which destroyed "them; but that it is GOD's anger which yet pursues "them for their idolatries†." This DETESTABLE POLICY (for so, with the free insolence of impiety, characteristic of these times, he calls the MOSAIC INSTITUTION) was a principle of independency: this *ignorance in the arts* prevented the entrance of luxury; and this *unpoliteness* hindered the practice of it. And yet parsimony, frugality, and a spirit of liberty, which naturally preserve other States, all tended, in the ideas of this wonderful Politician, to destroy the Jewish. Egypt was long lost for want of a spirit of independency; Greece sunk by its knowledge in the arts; and Rome was ruined by its politeness: yet

* Chap. xv. ver. 3.

† L'orgueil de chaque Juif est intéressé à croire que ce n'est point sa DETESTABLE POLITIQUE, son ignorance des arts, sa grossiereté, qui l'a perdu; mais que c'est la colere de Dieu que le punit. Rem. ix. sur les pensées de Pascal.

Judea

Judea suffered for the want of all these causes of destruction. Is not this more than a thousand topical arguments, to prove, that they were ruined by nothing but by their idolatries, which brought down GOD's vengeance upon them? But any contrivance will serve a Poet, any argument will satisfy a Freethinker, to keep a GOD and his providence at a distance. And that the PEOPLE were as DETESTABLE as their POLICY, the same Poet, the virtuous Voltaire assures us—"We do not find (says he) throughout the whole "annals of the HEBREW PEOPLE one generous ac- "tion. They are utter strangers both to hospitality, "to beneficence, and to clemency. Their sovereign- "good is the practice of Usury, with all but their "own nation. And this disposition, the principle of "all baseness, is so inrooted in their hearts, that "*Usury* is the constant object of the figures they em- "ploy in that species of eloquence which is peculiar "to them. *Their glory is to lay waste with fire and "sword, such paltry villages as they were just able to "storm: They cut the throats of the old men and "children, and reserve from slaughter only the mar- "riageable virgins. They assassinate their masters "when they are slaves. They are incapable of par- "doning when they conquer.* THEY ARE THE FOES "OF ALL MANKIND*."

* On ne voit dans toutes les Annales du peuple Hebreu aucune action genéreuse. Ils ne connaissent ni l'hospitalité, ni la liberalité, ni la clémence. Leur souverain bonheur est d'exercer l'usure avec les étrangers; et cet esprit de usure, principe de toute lacheté, est tellement enraciné dans leurs cœurs, que c'est l'objet continuel des figures, qu'ils employent dans l'espece d'eloquence, qui leur est propre. Leur gloire est de mettre à feu & à sang les petits villages, dont ils peuvent s'emparer. Ils égorgent les vieillards & les enfans; ils ne réservent que les filles nubiles; ils assassinent leurs Maitres quand ils sont esclaves; ils ne savent jamais pardonner quand ils sont Vainqueurs; ILS SONT LES ENNEMIS DU GENRE HUMAIN. Addit. à l'Hist. Generale, p. 30.

Such is the strong colouring of our MORAL PAINTER. He has dipt his pencil in sulphur to delineate with horns and tails, these chosen instruments of God's vengeance on a devoted Nation, overrun with UNNATURAL LUST and brutish Idolatry; for to their destruction, the murders, the rapine, and the violations here charged upon the *Hebrew People*, allude. For the rest, it is so much below all criticism, that one is almost ashamed to touch upon it. Otherwise, we might observe, that, in his rage, he hath confounded the character of the ancient HEBREWS with that of the modern JEWS, two people as much unlike as the ancient Francs to modern Frenchmen.—We might be merry with the nonsense, of *Usury's being the object of their figures of eloquence*; which yet is not more ridiculous in the thought than absurd in the expression; his meaning, I suppose, being, that their figures of eloquence are formed from, and allude to, the circumstances attending their practice of *Usury*.

But the affair grows more serious, as we proceed with our *General Historian*; and we shall find that this unhappy People, however they may stand with their *God*, certainly, at present, for some reason or other, lie under the *Poet's curse*. And from his uncommon knowledge of their *Usury* and their *eloquence*, I should suspect, he had lately been transacting some money-matters with them, and had been not only outwitted but out-talked too into the bargain.

As to their HATRED OF ALL MANKIND, (the chopping-block of infidelity) we have it over again, and more at large, in another place. "You are "(says he to his reader) struck with that hatred and "contempt, which all people have always entertained "for the Jewish Nation. It is the unavoidable con-"sequence of THEIR LEGISLATION; which reduced "things

" things to the necessity, that either the Jews must " enslave the whole world, or that they, in their turn, " must be crushed and destroyed. IT WAS COM- " MANDED THEM to hold all other People in abhor- " rence, and to think themselves polluted if they had " eat in the same dish which belonged to a man of " another religion. BY THE VERY LAW ITSELF, " they at length found themselves the natural enemies " of THE WHOLE RACE OF MANKIND *."

I believe it will not be easy to find, even in the dirtiest sink of Freethinking, so much falsehood, absurdity, and malice, heaped together in so few words. He says, *There was an inevitable necessity, arising from the very genius of the Law itself, either that this people should enslave the whole world, or that they, in their turn, should be crushed and destroyed.*

It might be thought unreasonable to expect that a Poet should read his Bible: but one might be allowed to suppose that he had heard at least of its general contents. If he ever had, could he, unmasked, and in the face of the sun, have said, " That the MOSAIC " LAW directed or encouraged the Jewish people to " attempt extensive conquests?" That very LAW, which not only assigned a peculiar and narrow district for the abode of its followers; but, by a number of Institutions, actually confined them within those limits: Such as the stated division of the land to each Tribe; the prohibition of the use of horses; the distinction of

* —Vous etes frappés de cette haine & de ce mepris que toutes les nations ont toujours eu pour la Nation Juive. C'est la suite inevitable de LEUR LEGISLATION; il falloit, ou que ce Peuple subjuguât tout, ou qu'il fut ecrasé. Il lui fut ordonné d'avoir, les nations en horreur, & de se croire souillés s'ils avaient mangé dans un plat, qui eût appartenu à un homme d'un autre Loi—ils se trouvèrent PAR LEUR LOI MEME enfin l'ennemis naturels du GENRE HUMAIN. Add. à l'Hist. Generale, p. 174.

meats

meats into clean and unclean; the yearly visit of each individual to Jerusalem, with many others. The Poet, who appears throughout his whole history to be a much better Mussulman than a Christian, was surely, when he said this, in some pious meditation on the ALCORAN; which indeed, by *the inevitable consequence of its Legislation*, must either set the Saracens upon enslaving all mankind, or all mankind on extirpating so pernicious a crew of miscreants.

But *the Jews*, he tells us, were COMMANDED *to hold all other people in abhorrence.* If he had said, *to hold their* IDOLATRIES *in abhorrence*, he had said *true*; but that was saying nothing. To tell the world that *the Jews were commanded to hold the* PERSONS *of Idolaters in abhorrence*, was done like a Poet.

But when he goes on to say, that *The Jews found*, BY THE VERY CONSTITUTION OF THE LAW ITSELF, *that they were the* NATURAL ENEMIES *of all mankind*, this was not like a Poet, being indeed a transgression of the PROBABLE; for by the *constitution of the Law itself*, every Jew that could read, found all mankind to be his BRETHREN. For Moses, to prevent any such estrangement, which some other parts of his Institution, if abused, might occasion, was careful to acquaint the chosen Family with the origin of the human race, and of their descent from one man and woman; and, in order to impress this salutary truth more strongly on their minds, he draws out an exact genealogy from Adam, not only of the direct line which was to inhabit the land of Judea, but of all the collateral branches by which the whole earth was peopled.

So that were our Poet to turn *Lawgiver*, (which he might as well do, as GENERAL HISTORIAN) and sit down to contrive a method by which brotherly love and affection might be best established amongst the

sons of men, one might defy him, with all his poetical or historical invention, to hit upon any more efficacious than that which Moses has here employed. St. Paul, when he would enlarge the affections of the Athenians (to whom all other nations, as well as the Jews, were become BARBARIANS) to that extent which Christian benevolence requires, employed no other topic than this, that GOD HAD MADE OF ONE BLOOD ALL NATIONS OF MEN: and from thence inferred, that they all stand in the relation of BRETHREN to one another.

But it may be asked, What are we then to think of that ODIUM HUMANI GENERIS, with which the ancient Pagans charged the Jews? I have shewn, in the first volume of this work, that there was not the least shadow from *fact* to support this calumny; and that it was merely an imaginary consequence, which they drew from the others declared hate and abhorrence of the Idols of Paganism, and firm adherence to the sole worship of the *one true God.* But besides this original, the *Principles and Doctrine*, there was another, the *Rites and Ceremonies* of the Mosaic Religion; either of them sufficient alone to perpetuate this wretched calumny amongst ignorant and prejudiced men. That the *Doctrine* was worthy of its original, the enemies of Revelation confess; That the establishment of the *Ceremonies*, as they were necessary to support the *Doctrine*, were of no less importance, I shall now shew our Poet.

To separate one people from all others, in order to preserve the doctrine of the *Unity*, was a just purpose.

No separation could be made but by a ceremonial Law.

No ceremonial Law could be established for this purpose, but what must make the Gentiles be esteemed unclean by the separated People.

The

The consequence of an estimated *uncleanness*, must be the avoiding it with horror: which, when observed by their enemies, would be maliciously represented to arise from this imaginary *odium humani generis*. What idea then must we needs entertain, I will not say of the Religion, but of the common honesty of a modern Writer, who, without the least knowledge of the Jewish Nation or their Policy, can repeat an old exploded calumny with the assurance of one who had discovered a newly acknowledged truth? But the Pagans were decent when compared to this rude Libertine. They never had the insolence to say, that this pretended *hate of all mankind* was COMMANDED BY THE LAW ITSELF. They had more sense as well as modesty. They reverenced the great Jewish Lawgiver, who, they saw, by his account of the origin of the human race, had laid the strongest foundation amongst his people, of brotherly love to all men. A foundation, which not one of the most celebrated Lawgivers of Antiquity had either the wit to inforce, or the sagacity to discover.

Well, but if the Jews were indeed that DETESTABLE *People* which the Poet Voltaire represents them to be, they were properly fitted however with a *Law*, which, he assures us, was full as DETESTABLE. What pity is it that he did not know just so much of his Bible, however, as might serve to give some small countenance at least to his impieties! We might then have had the *Prophet* to support the *Poet*, where, speaking in the name of God, he says,—*I gave them Statutes that were not good, and Judgments whereby they should not live**. But to leave this to his maturer projects; and go on with him, in his pious design of *eradicating*

* Ezekiel.—See Book IV. § 6.

this

this devoted People; for he assures us, we see, that unless they be rooted out, their DETESTABLE POLICY will set them upon enslaving all mankind.

He hath shewn the PEOPLE to be *detestable*, and their LAW to be *detestable*; and well has he provided for the reception of both, a most *detestable* COUNTRY. You may, if you please, suppose all this done in vindication of the good providence of the God of Israel; for a *People* so bad, certainly deserved neither a better *Government* nor *Habitation*. No, he had a nobler end than this; it was to give the lie to the Legate of the God of Israel, who promised to them in his Master's name, *A land flowing with milk and honey, the glory of all lands*. Having gotten Moses at this advantage, by the assistance of Servetus and his followers (for he always speaks from good authority) he draws this delightful picture of the HOLY LAND— "All of it "which is situated towards the south, consists of DE-"SERTS OF SALT SANDS on the side of the Mediter-"ranean and Egypt; and of HORRID MOUNTAINS "all the way to Esiongaber, towards the Red-Sea. "These sands, and these rocks, at present possessed "by a few straggling Arabian Robbers, were the an-"cient patrimony of the Jews *."

Now admitting this account to be true: 1. In the first place, we may inform our Poet, that, from the face of a country lying desert, there is no safe judgment to be made of the degree of its fertility when well cultivated; especially of such a one as is here described, consisting of rugged mountains and sandy plains, which,

* Tout ce qui est situé vers le midi consiste en deserts de sables salés du côté de la Mediterranée & de l'Egypte, & en montagnes affreuses jusqu' à Esiongaber vers la Mer Rouge. Ces sables & ces rochers, habités aujourd-hui par quelques Arabes Voleurs, sont l'ancienne patrie des Juifs. Add. à l'Hist. Generale, p. 83.

without

without culture, indeed, produce nothing, but which, by human industry in a happy climate, may be made to vie with soils naturally the most prolific. 2. It appears, from the vast numbers which this country actually sustained in the most flourishing times of the Theocracy, that it well answered the character their Lawgiver had bestowed upon it, *of a land flowing with milk and honey.* 3. The Israelites, when they took possession of it, certainly found it to come up to the character which Moses had given them, of a place where they should find *great and goodly Cities which they had not builded, houses full of good things which they had not filled, wells digged which they had not digged, and vineyards and olive-trees which they had not planted**. If, I say, they had not found it so, we should soon have heard of it, from the most turbulent and dissatisfied people upon earth. And it was no wonder they found it in this condition, since they had wrested it from the hands of a very numerous and luxurious People, who had carried arts and arms to some height, when they, in any sense, could be said to have *Cities fenced up to Heaven.* But the Poet has a solution of this difficulty; for to the Israelites, just got out of their forty years captivity in the Wilderness, this miserable country must needs appear a paradise, in comparison of the Deserts of Param and Cadish Barnea †. Now it is very certain, that no *Desert* thereabout, could be more horrid or forbidding than that of Judea, as the Poet has here drawn the landscape. But does he think they had quite forgot the fertile plains of Egypt all this time? And if they *compared* the promised Inheritance to the Wilderness on

* Deut. vi—viii.

† —Ce pais fut pour eux une terre delicieuse en comparaison des Déserts de Param & de Cades-Barné. Ib.

the

the one hand, would they not be as apt to *compare* it to Egypt on the other? And what Judea gained by the first, it would loose by the second. But he will say, *that Generation* which came out of Egypt, *fell in the Wilderness.* What if they did? they left their fondness for its flesh-pots behind them, as we are sufficiently informed from the excessive attachment of their posterity for Egyptian luxury of every kind. 4. But let us admit his account of the sterility of the promised Land, and then see how the pretensions of the Mosaic Mission will stand. We will consider this sterility in either view, as *corrigible*, or as *incorrigible.*

If *corrigible*, we cannot conceive a properer region for answering the ENDS of Providence, as Moses has delivered them unto us, with regard to this People. The first great blessing bestowed on mankind, was to be particularly exemplified in the posterity of Abraham, which was to be *like the sand on the sea-shore for multitude:* and yet they were to be confined within the narrow limits of a single district: so that some proportionate provision was to be made for its numerous Inhabitants. Affluence by commerce they could not have; for the purpose of their separation required that Idolaters should no more be permitted to come and pollute them, than that they should go amongst Idolaters to be polluted by them: And accordingly, a sufficient care was taken, in the framing of their Laws, to hinder this communication at either end. Thus the advantages from commerce being quite cut off, they had only agriculture to have recourse to, for subsistence of their multitudes. And the natural sterility of the land would force them upon every invention to improve it. And artificial culture produces an abundance, which unassisted nature can never give to the most fruitful soil and most benignant climate. Add to this,

that

that a People thus sequestered, would, without such constant attention to the art, and application to the labour, which the meliorating of a backward soil requires, soon degenerate into barbarous and savage manners; the first product of which has been always seen to be a total oblivion of a God.

But if we are to suppose what the Poet would seem to insinuate, in discredit of the Dispensation, that the soil of Judea was absolutely *incorrigible*; a more convincing proof cannot be given of that EXTRAORDINARY PROVIDENCE which Moses promised to them. So that if the *corrigibility* of a bad soil perfectly agreed with the END of the Dispensation, which was a separation, the *incorrigibility* of it was as well fitted to the MEAN, which was an *extraordinary Providence*. For the fact, that Judea did support those vast multitudes, being unquestionable, and the natural incapacity of the country so to do being allowed, nothing remains but that we must recur to that *extraordinary Providence*, which not only was promised, but was the natural consequence of a *Theocratic* form of government. But I am inclined to keep between the two contrary suppositions, and take up the premisses of the one, and the conclusion of the other: to hold that the sterility of Judea was very corrigible; but that all possible culture would be inadequate to the vast numbers which it sustained, and that therefore its natural produce was still further multiplied by an *extraordinary blessing* upon the land.

To support this system, we may observe, that this extraordinary assistance was bestowed more eminently, because more wanted, while the Israelites remained in the *Wilderness*. MOSES, whose word will yet go as far as our *General Historian*'s, says, that when God took Jacob up, to give him his LAW, he *found him*

him indeed in a desert Land, and in the waste-howling wilderness; but it was no longer such, when now God had the leading of him. "*He led him about*," [i.e. while he was preparing him for the conquest of the promised Land] "*He instructed him*," [i.e. by the LAW, which he there gave him] "*He kept him as the* "*apple of his eye*," [i.e. he preserved him there by his extraordinary Providence;] the effects of which he describes in the next words,—"He made him ride "on the high places of the earth," [i.e. he made the Wilderness to equal, in its produce, the best cultivated places] "that he might eat the increase of the fields; "and he made him to suck honey out of the Rock, "and oil out of the flinty Rock: Butter of kine, and "milk of sheep, with fat of lambs, and rams of the "breed of Bashan" [i.e. as large as that breed] "and "goats, with the fat of kidneys of wheat," [i.e. the flour of wheat] "and thou didst drink the pure blood "of the Grape."

That this was no fairy-scene, appears from the effects—"Jeshurun waxed fat, and kicked: thou art "waxen fat, thou art grown thick, thou art covered "with fatness; then he forsook God which made "him, and lightly esteemed the Rock of his salva-"tion*," &c. This severe reproof of Moses certainly did not put the Israelites in an humour, to take the wonders in the foregoing account on his word, had the facts he appeals to been the least equivocal.

On the whole, we can form no conception how God could have chosen a People, and assigned them a land to inhabit, more proper for the display of his almighty Power, than the People of Israel and the land of Judea. As to the People, the PROPHET in his *Parable* of the Vine-tree, informs us, that they were natu-

* Deut. xxxii. 10, & seq.

rally, the weakest and most contemptible of all nations: and as to the land, the POET, in his *great Fable*, which he calls a General History, assures us, that Judea was the vilest and most barren of all countries. Yet somehow or other this *chosen People* became the Instructors of mankind, in the noblest office of humanity, the science of true Theology: and the *promised Land*, while made subservient to the worship of one God, was changed, from its native sterility, to a region *flowing with milk and honey*; and, by reason of the incredible numbers which it sustained, deservedly entitled the GLORY OF ALL LANDS.

This is the state of things which SCRIPTURE lays before us. And I have never yet seen those *strong reasons*, from the schools of Infidelity, that should induce a man, bred up in any school at all, to prefer their logic to the plain facts of the Sacred Historians.

I have used their testimony to expose one, who, indeed, renounces their authority: but in this I am not conscious of having transgressed any rule of fair reasoning. The *Freethinker* laments that there is no contemporary historian remaining, to confront with the Jewish Lawgiver, and detect his impostures. However, he takes heart, and boldly engages his credit to confute him from his own history. This is a fair attempt. But he prevaricates on the very first onset. The Sacred History, besides the many *civil* facts which it contains, has many of a *miraculous* nature. Of these, our Freethinker will allow the first only to be brought in evidence. And then bravely attacks his adversary, who has now one hand tied behind him: for the civil and the miraculous facts, in the Jewish Dispensation, have the same, nay, a nearer relation to each other, than the two hands of the same body; for these may be used singly and independently, though

to

to disadvantage; whereas the civil and the miraculous facts can neither be understood nor accounted for, but on the individual inspection of both. This is confessed by one who, as clear-sighted as he was, certainly did not see the * consequence of what he so liberally acknowledged. "The miracles in the Bible" (says his philosophic Lordship) "are not like those in Livy, "detached pieces, that do not disturb the civil His- "tory, which goes on very well without them. But "the miracles of the Jewish Historian are intimately "connected with all the civil affairs, and make a ne- "cessary and inseparable part. The whole history "is founded in them; it consists of little else; and "if it were not an history of them, it would be a "history of nothing †.

From all this, I assume that where an Unbeliever, a Philosopher if you will, (for the Poet Voltaire makes them convertible terms) pretends to show the falsehood of Moses's mission from Moses's own history of it; he who undertakes to confute his reasoning, argues fairly when he confutes it upon facts recorded in that history, whether they be of the miraculous or of the civil kind: since the two sorts are so inseparably connected, that they must always be taken together, to make the history understood, or the facts which it contains intelligible.

SECT. II.

ALLOWING it then, to have been GOD's purpose to perpetuate the knowledge of himself amidst an idolatrous World, by the means of a separated People; let us see how this design was brought about,

* See the View of Lord Bolingbroke's Philosophy, Vol. XII.

† Bolingbroke's Posthumous Works, vol. iii. p. 279.

when the Family, he had chosen, was now become numerous enough to support itself under a *separation*; and Idolatry, which was grown to its most gigantic stature*, was now to be repressed.

The Israelites were, at this time, groaning under the yoke of Egypt; whither the all-wise providence of God had conducted them, while they were yet few in number, and in danger of mixing and confounding themselves with the rest of the Nations. In this distress, one of their own brethren is sent to them with a message from God, by the name and character of the God of their Fathers, whose virtues God had promised to reward with distinguished blessings on their Posterity. The message, accompanied with *signs and wonders*, denounced their speedy deliverance from Egyptian bondage, and their certain possession of the land of Canaan, the scene of all the promised blessings. The People hearken, and are delivered. They depart from Egypt; and in the third month from their departure, come to Mount Sinai. Here God first tells them by their Leader, Moses, that, *if they would obey his voice indeed, and keep his Covenant, then they should be a* peculiar treasure *to him above all people, for that the* whole earth *was his* †. Where we see an example of what hath been observed above, that whenever an Institution was given to this People, in compliance with the notions they had imbibed in Egypt, a corrective was always joined with it, to prevent the abuse. Thus God having here told them, that if they would *obey his voice* they should be *his peculiar treasure above all people*, (speaking in the character of a *tutelary God*;) to prevent this compliance from falling into abuse, as the

* See note [B] at the end of this Book.

† Exod. xix. 5.

division

division of the several regions of the earth to several celestial rulers was inseparably connected with the idea of a *tutelary Deity*, he adds, as a reason for making this People his Peculiar, a circumstance destructive of that Pagan notion of tutelary Gods—*for that the* WHOLE EARTH *was his.* Well. The people consent*; and GOD delivers the Covenant to them, in the words of the two Tables †.

But this promise, of their being received for GOD's *peculiar treasure*, could be visibly performed no otherwise than by their separation from the rest of mankind. As on the other hand, their separation could not have been effected without this visible protection. And this, Moses observes in his intercession for the people: *For wherein shall it be known here, that I and thy people have found grace in thy sight? Is it not in that* THOU GOEST WITH US? *So shall we be* SEPARATED, *I and thy people, from all the people that are upon the face of the earth* ‡. The better, therefore, to secure this separation, GOD proposes to them, to become their KING. And, for reasons that will be explained anon, condescends to receive the Magistracy, on their free choice.—*And ye shall be unto me a kingdom of priests* §, *and an holy nation.—And all the people answered together and said, All that the Lord hath spoken we will do* ‖. GOD then delivers them a Digest of their civil and religious Laws, and settles the whole Constitution both of Church and State. Thus the Almighty becoming their KING, in as real a sense as he was their GOD, the republic of the Israelites was properly a THEOCRACY; in which

* Exod. xix. 8. † Chap. xx. ‡ Chap. xxxiii. 16.

§ For where *God* is *King*, every *subject* is, in some sense or other, a *priest*; because in that case, civil obedience must have in it the nature of religious ministration.

‖ Exod. xix. 6—8.

the two Societies, civil and religious, were of course intirely incorporated. A thing neither attended to nor understood. The name indeed is of familiar use: but how little men mean by it, is seen from hence, that those who, out of form, are accustomed to call it a *Theocracy*, yet, in their reasonings about it, consider it as a mere Aristocracy under the Judges; and as a mere Monarchy under the Kings: whereas, in truth, it was neither one nor the other, but a real and proper THEOCRACY, under both.

Thus was this famous SEPARATION made. But it will be asked, Why in so extraordinary a way? A way, in which the sagacious Deist can discover nothing but the marks of the Legislator's fraud, and the People's superstition.—As to what a mere human Lawgiver could gain by such a project, will be seen hereafter. At present, it will be sufficient, for the removal of these suspicions, to shew, that a THEOCRACY WAS NECESSARY, as the *separation* could not be effected any other way.

It appears, from what hath been shewn above, that the Israelites had ever a violent propensity to mix with the neighbouring Nations, and to devote themselves to the practices of idolatry: this would naturally, and did, in fact, absorb large portions of them. And the sole human means which preserved the remainder, was the severity of their civil Laws against idolatry*. Such

* " If there be found amongst you within any of thy gates " which the LORD thy GOD giveth thee, man or woman that " hath wrought wickedness in the sight of the LORD thy GOD in " transgressing his covenant; and hath gone and served other " gods, and worshipped them, either the sun, or the moon, or " any of the host of heaven, which I have not commanded; and " it be told thee, and thou hast heard of it, and inquired dili- " gently, and behold it be true, and the thing certain, that such " abomination is wrought in Israel: then shalt thou bring forth

Such laws, therefore, were necessary to support a *separation*. But penal Laws, inforced by the ordinary Magistrate, for matters of opinion, are manifestly unjust. Some way therefore was to be contrived to render these Laws equitable. For we are not to suppose GOD would ordain any thing that should violate the rule of natural justice. Now these penal laws are equitable only in a Theocracy: therefore was a THEOCRACY NECESSARY.

That the punishment of opinions, by civil Laws, under a THEOCRACY, is agreeable to the rules of natural justice, I shall now endeavour to prove.

Unbelievers and intolerant Christians have both tried to make their advantage of this part of the Mosaic institution. The one using it as an argument against the divinity of the Jewish Religion, on presumption that such Laws are contrary to natural equity; and the other bringing it to defend their intolerant principles by the example of Heaven itself. But they are both equally deceived by their ignorance of the nature of a *Theocracy:* which, rightly understood, clears the Jewish Law from an embarrassing objection, and leaves the rights of mankind inviolate.

Mr. Bayle, in an excellent treatise for Toleration, when he comes to examine the arguments of the Intolerants, takes notice of that which they bring from the example in question. "The fourth objection "(says he) may arise from hence, that the Law of "Moses gives no toleration to idolaters, and false "prophets, whom it punishes with death; and from "what the Prophet Elijah did to the Priests of Baal, "whom

"that man or that woman (which have committed that wicked "thing) unto thy gates, even that man, or that woman, and shalt "stone them with stones till they die." Deut. xvii. 2, 3, 4, 5.

" whom he ordered to be destroyed without mercy. " From whence it follows, that all the reasons I have " employed, in the first part of this *commentary*, prove " nothing, because they prove too much; namely, " that the literal sense of the Law of Moses, as far " as relates to the punishment of opinions, would be " impious and abominable. Therefore, since GOD " could, without violating the eternal order of things, " command the Jews to put false prophets to death, " it follows, evidently, that he could, under the Gos- " pel also, command orthodox believers to inflict the " same punishment upon heretics.

" I am not, if I rightly know myself, of that temper " of mind, so thoroughly corrupted by the contagion " of Controversy, as to treat this objection with an " air of haughtiness and contempt; as is the way " when men find themselves incapable of answering " to the purpose. I ingenuously own the objection " to be strong; and that it seems to be a mark of " GOD's sovereign pleasure, that we should not arrive " at certainty in any thing, seeing he hath given ex- " ceptions in his holy word to almost all the common " notices of reason. Nay, I know some who have no " greater difficulties to hinder their believing that GOD " was the author of the Laws of Moses, and of all " those Revelations that occasioned so much slaughter " and devastation, than this very matter of into- " lerance, so contrary to our clearest ideas of natural " equity *."

Whether Mr. Bayle himself was one of these back- ward believers, as by some of his expressions he gives us reason to suspect, is not material. That he

* Voions presentement cette iv. objection. On la peut tirer de ce que la loi du Moïse, &c. Commentaire Philosophique, Part ii. Chap. 4.

dwelt

dwelt with pleasure on this circumstance, as favouring his beloved scepticism, is too evident. But sure he went a little too far when he said, God's *word contains exceptions to almost all the common notices of reason* *. I hope to shew, before I have done with Infidelity, that it contains exceptions to none. Our excellent countryman Mr. Locke, who wrote about this time on the same subject, and with that force and precision which is the character of all his writings, was more reasonable and modest in his account of this matter. *As to the case* (says he) *of the Israelites in the Jewish Commonwealth, who being initiated into the Mosaical rites, and made citizens of the commonwealth, did afterwards apostatize from the worship of the* God *of Israel; these were proceeded against as traitors and rebels, guilty of no less than high treason. For the commonwealth of the Jews, different, in that, from all others, was an absolute* Theocracy; *nor was there, nor could there be, any difference between the Commonwealth and the Church. The Laws established there concerning the worship of the one invisible Deity were the civil Laws of that people, and a part of their political Government, in which* God *himself was the Legislator* †. This he said; but it being all he said,

I shall endeavour to support his solution by such other reasoning as occurs to me. It will be necessary then to observe, that God, in his infinite wisdom, was pleased to stand in two *arbitrary* relations towards the Jewish People, besides that *natural* one, in which he stood towards them and the rest of mankind in common. The first was that of a *tutelary Deity, gentilitial* and *local*; the God of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob,

* — par les exceptions qu'il a mise dans sa parole à presque toutes les notions communes de la raison.

† Letter concerning Toleration, p. 37. Ed. 1689.

who

who was to bring their posterity into the land of Canaan, and to protect them there, as his peculiar People. The second was that of *supreme Magistrate and Lawgiver*. And in both these relations he was pleased to refer it to the people's free choice, whether or no they would receive him for their GOD and KING. For a tutelary Deity was supposed by the Ancients to be as much matter of election as a civil Magistrate. The People, therefore, thus solemnly accepting him, these necessary consequences followed from the HOREB CONTRACT.

I. First, that as the national GOD and civil Magistrate of the Jews centered in one and the same object, their civil Policy and Religion must be intimately united and incorporated *; consequently, their religion had, and very reasonably, A PUBLIC PART, whose subject was the Society as such: though this part, in the national pagan Religions, which had it likewise, was extremely absurd, as hath been shewn more at large in the first volume †.

II. Secondly, as the two Societies were thoroughly incorporated, they could not be distinguished; but must stand or fall together. Consequently the direction of all their civil Laws must be for the equal preservation of both. Therefore, as the renouncing him for King was the throwing him off as God; and as the renouncing him for God was the throwing him off as King; idolatry, which was the rejecting him as GOD, was properly the crimen læsæ majestatis; and so justly punishable by the civil Laws. But there was

* Such a kind of union and incorporation was most absurdly affected by MAHOMET, in imitation of the *Jewish* Economy; whence, as might be expected, it appears that neither he nor his assistants understood any thing of its true nature.

† See Divine Legation, B. II. Sect. 1. pp. 309, 310.

this

this manifest difference in these two cases, as to the effects. The renouncing GOD as civil Magistrate might be remedied without a total dissolution of the Constitution; not so, the renouncing him as tutelary GOD: because, though he might, and did * appoint a deputy, in his office of KING, amongst the Jewish tribes; yet he would have no substitute, as GOD, amongst the pagan Deities. Therefore, in necessity as well as of right, idolatry was punishable by the civil Laws of a THEOCRACY; it being the greatest crime that could be committed against the State, as tending, by unavoidable consequence, to dissolve the Constitution. For the one GOD being the supreme Magistrate, it subsisted in the worship of that GOD alone. Idolatry, therefore, as the renunciation of one GOD alone, was in a strict philosophic, as well as legal sense, the crime of lese-majesty. Let us observe farther, that as, by such INCORPORATION, religious matters came under civil consideration, so likewise civil matters came under the religious. This is what Josephus would say, where, in his second book against Apion, speaking of the Jewish Theocracy, he tells us that Moses did not make *Religion a part of Virtue, but Virtue a part of Religion*†. The meaning is, that, as in all human Societies, obedience to the Law is moral Virtue; under a THEOCRACY, it is Religion.

III. The punishment of Idolatry, by Law, had this farther circumstance of equity, that it was punishing

* The kings of *Israel* and *Judah* being, as we shall shew, indeed no other.

† Αἴτιον δ' ὅτι κ᾽ τῷ τρόπῳ τῆς νομοθεσίας πρὸς τὸ χρήσιμον πάντων ἀεὶ πολὺ διήνεγκεν· ὃ γὰρ μέρος τῆς ἀρετῆς ἐποίησε τὴν εὐσέβειαν, ἀλλὰ ταύτης τὰ μέρη τἄλλα συνεῖδε κ᾽ καλέσησε· λέγω δὲ τὴν δικαιοσύνην, τὴν καρτερίαν, τὴν σωφροσύνην, τὴν τῶν πολιτῶν πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἐν ἅπασι συμφωνίαν. p. 483. Hav. Ed.

the

the rebellion of those who had chosen the Government under which they lived, when freely proposed to them. Hence, in the Law against idolatry, the crime is, with great propriety, called the TRANSGRESSION OF THE COVENANT *.

Thus we see, the Law in question stands clear of the cavils of Infidels, and the abuse of Intolerants †.

But to this, the defender of *the common rights of subjects* may be apt to object, that "these penal laws "were unjust, because no contract to give up the rights "of conscience can be binding."

To which I reply, with a plain and decisive fact, That none of all the idolatrous worship the Jews ever fell into, from the time of giving the Law to the total dissolution of the Republic, was MATTER OF CONSCIENCE; but always of convenience; such as procuring some temporal good, which they wantonly affected, or averting some temporal evil, which they servilely feared. The truth of which appears from hence, that, in the midst of all their idolatries, the GOD of their Fathers, as we shall see, was ever owned to be the Creator and first Cause of all things; and the Religion taught by Moses, to be a Revelation from heaven.

But it may be asked, What if their commission of idolatry had, at any time, proved matter of conscience; i.e. such an action as they thought they were obliged in duty to perform?

I reply, the question would have weight, had the Law in dispute been of human institution. But as it was given by GOD, who knows the future equally with the past and present, and saw the case would not happen, it is altogether impertinent. The Question,

* Deut. xvii. 2.

† See note [C] at the end of this Book.

indeed,

indeed, points out to us, the danger and absurdity in any human legislature to make penal Laws for restraining the exercise of Religion, on any pretence whatsoever.

Thus it is seen, that a *separation*, so necessary to preserve the Unity, could not have been supported without PENAL LAWS against idolatry; and, at the same time, seen that such penal laws can never be equitably instituted but under a Theocracy. The consequence is, that A THEOCRACY WAS NECESSARY.

But this form of Government was highly convenient likewise. The Israelites, on their leaving Egypt, were sunk into the lowest practices of idolatry. To recover them, therefore, by the discipline of a *separation*, it was necessary that the idea of GOD and his attributes should be impressed upon them in the most *sensible* manner. But this could not be done, commodiously, under his character of GOD of the Universe: under his character of KING of Israel it well might. Hence it is, we find him in the Old Testament so frequently represented with affections analogous to human passions. The Civil relation, in which he stood to these people, made such a representation natural; the grossness of their conceptions made the representation necessary; and the guarded manner in which it was always qualified, prevented it from being mischievous. Hence, another instance of the wisdom of this Economy; and of the folly of Spinoza, and others, who would conclude from it, that Moses and the Prophets had themselves gross conceptions of the Deity. Nor should the indiscretion of those Divines pass uncensured, who have taught that GOD, in the Old Testament, looks on man with a less gracious and benign aspect, than in the New. An error, which at one time gave birth to the most absurd and monstrous of the ancient heresies; and hath at all times furnished a handle

to

to infidelity*. But GOD, whenever he represents himself under the idea of Lord of the Universe, makes one uniform revelation of his nature, throughout all his Dispensations, *as gracious and full of compassion*; *as good to* ALL, *and whose tender mercies are* OVER ALL HIS WORKS: yet condescending to become the tutelary God, and civil Magistrate of the Jews, it cannot but be, that he should be considered as having his peculiar inspection attached to this People, and as punishing their transgressions with severity.

These appear to me the true reasons of the *Theocratic* form of government. With such admirable wisdom was the Jewish Economy adapted, to effect the ends it had in view! Yet, notwithstanding the splendour of divinity which shines through every part of this Theocratic form, Mr. Foster, a dissenting preacher, tells us roundly, that it is all an idle dream; and that he will undertake to defend the Law, which punishes idolatry with death, "not on *dark and imaginary*, but on *clear and solid* principles; I therefore "add, (says he) supposing the THEOCRATIC form of "government amongst the Jews to be a point incontestible, it *seems scarce* capable of affording a *full* "*and satisfactory* answer to the objection raised against "the Hebrew Law for devoting idolaters to death. "For when the people of Israel, fond of novelty, "and of imitating the customs of other nations, were "stubbornly and inflexibly resolved, notwithstanding "all the remonstrances of the Prophet Samuel to the "contrary, to have a visible and mortal King; God

* *It must be owned* (says Tindal) *that the same spirit (I dare not call it a spirit of cruelty) does not alike prevail throughout the Old Testament: the nearer we come to the times of the Gospel, the milder it appeared.* Christianity as old as the Creation, p. 241.—See too Lord Bolingbroke's Posthumous Works throughout.

"upon

" upon this occasion declared, that they had *rejected* " *him that he should not reign over them:* and as his " former political reign is founded on a supposed " compact between the Almighty Sovereign and his " people, that *original compact* being now solemnly " renounced on the part of the people, there must " of course be a dissolution or end of the Theo- " cracy *." He begins with calling the Theocracy *a dark principle.* And yet, the account he gives of it shews, that he did not find it *dark*; and, what was worse, could not, with all his endeavours, make it so. He calls it *imaginary*; and yet the very History he quotes to prove its short duration, shews, even by his own proof, it was *not imaginary*, but real.

Indeed, if that civil Government, which is founded on ORIGINAL COMPACT, were dissolvable at pleasure, that is, as soon as one of the contracting parties was grown weary of it (which this Decider on Government and Laws expressly says it is), then Government, on its most legitimate foundation, would be the most *dark and imaginary* of all things. When the Parliament rose up in arms against Charles I. they wanted just such a Preacher as this (and yet they had many precious ones), to assure them, that *their renouncing* the King's Authority had fairly dissolved the Monarchy, and brought it to a lawful end. For the Leaders of that body, it is plain, knew nothing of this secret, and were therefore at a great deal of pains to prove, and at last could hardly get themselves believed, that Charles himself had broken the *original Compact.* But unless this *Compact* stands upon a different footing from all other compacts in the world, we may safely pronounce, that a bargain or agreement, which has been

* Sermons, vol. iii. pp. 373, 374.

made

made between two parties, can never be dissolved but by the consent of both of them; or by a fundamental misdemeanour in one; if the other party chuses to exact the forfeiture. Now, in the case of the Jews under Samuel, there was a *renunciation*, it is true, on the part of the People, or, in plainer English, a REBELLION. But GOD did not give way to it; he would not (as on the principles of civil justice he might) exact the forfeiture; which was, the withdrawing his protection. All this will be proved at large in its place. The *Theocracy*, therefore, still continued under their Kings; which were indeed no other than the *anointed*, or the Viceroys of GOD.—Such is our Preacher's success in attempting to shew Mr. Locke's principle to be *dark and imaginary*. Let us see next whether he has better fortune in proving his own to be *clear and solid*.

Now his way of justifying the Law, which punished idolatry with death, without the aid of the *theocratic principle*, is this.—"As the end for which the civil "constitution of the Jews was formed, *viz.* to prevent "their being overrun with idolatry, (which, as it "prevailed amongst the neighbouring nations, cor- "rupted their internal sense of the difference of good "and evil, and banished humanity and decency, and "many of the most considerable and important of "the social virtues, by introducing shameful impuri- "ties and human sacrifices, quite detestable to nature) "as the end, I say, for which the civil constitution of "the Jews was formed, appears, when thus explained, "and abstracted from all consideration merely reli- "gious, to be wise and gracious in itself; and as the "judicial Laws in that scheme of Government were "admirably adapted to subserve and advance this "wise and gracious end; it necessarily follows, that "idolatry,

" idolatry, which would have frustrated the whole de-
" sign of the Constitution, and have entirely dissolved
" and destroyed it, must, upon the same reasons that
" are allowed to be just in all other Policies, have
" deserved capital punishment*."

Here we see our Preacher approves himself just as skilful in the *end* of Civil-government, as he did before, in its *nature and essence*. He appears not to know (what he might have seen proved in the two first volumes of this work) that civil Society must have one particular, distinct, and appropriated end; and that this end can be no other than security to the temporal liberty and property of man; because (as is there shewn) all other ends may be attained without civil Society. This then is the only proper end of Government. Yet our Preacher falls into that exploded conceit, which makes any attainable end, so it be a good one, the legitimate business of civil Society, as such: which confounds this society with all others, there being no way to keep the Civil distinct, but by assigning it an end peculiar to itself. But his subject happening to be the *Jewish government*, it secured his reasoning from the glare of the absurdity. And his false and fallacious account of the *end* of its institution, with which he introduces his reasoning, gave a certain plausibility to the nonsense which followed. It is in these words, *The end for which the civil constitution was formed, was to prevent their being overrun with idolatry*. Now, by *civil constitution*, a fair reasoner should mean (where the question is concerning the efficacy of a *mere* civil Government, in contradistinction to the Religious) the civil constitution of the Jews as it was so distinguished But, in this sense, the *end* of the *civil constitution* of the Jews was

* Pages 375, 376.

the same with all other, namely, security to men's temporal liberty and property. It is true, if by their *civil constitution*, he meant both civil and religious, which here indeed was incorporated, and went under the common name of LAW; then indeed its *end was to prevent idolatry*; but then this is giving up the point, because that incorporation was the consequence of the *Theocratic* form of Government, or, to speak more properly, it was the THEOCRACY itself. Thus he comes round again to the place on which he had turned his back; and, before he knows where he is, establishes the very doctrine he would confute. In a word, our Preacher was got out of his depth; and here I shall leave him to sink or swim; only observing, that this great advocate of religious liberty has done his best (though certainly without design) to support a principle the most plausible of any that Persecutors for opinions can catch hold on, to justify their iniquitous practice; namely, *that civil government was ordained for the procuring all the good of all kinds, which it is even accidentally capable of advancing.* And to make sure work, he employs that adulterate gloss, which They so artfully put upon their wicked practice; *viz.* that it is *for the support of morality:* for who is so purblind that he cannot spy *immoralities* lurking in all heretical opinions? And thus it is that our Preacher defends civil Government, in punishing opinions: *The idolatry of the neighbouring nations* (says he) *corrupted their internal sense of the difference of good and evil, and banished humanity and decency, and many of the most considerable and important of the social virtues.* A reason constantly in the mouths, whatever hath been in the hearts of Persecutors, from St. Austin to St. Dominic *.

* See note [D] at the end of this Book.

II. We

II.

We come, in the next place, to shew, that this THEOCRACY, as it was NECESSARY, so it would have an easy reception; being founded on the flattering notion, at that time universally entertained, of TUTELARY DEITIES, *Gentilitial and Local.* Thus, to carry on his great purpose, the Almighty very early represented himself to this chosen race, as a *Gentilitial* Deity, The GOD of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob*: Afterwards, when he preferred Judea to all other countries for his personal residence (on this account called HIS LAND †), he came under their idea of a *Local* Deity: which notion was an established principle in the Gentile world, as we have shewn above, from Plato. It was originally EGYPTIAN; and founded in an opinion that the earth was at first divided by its Creator, amongst a number of inferior and subordinate Divinities. The Septuagint translators appear to have understood the following passage, in the song of Moses, as alluding to this opinion; —*When the Most High divided to the nations their inheritance, when he separated the sons of Adam, he set the bounds of the people* ACCORDING TO THE NUMBER OF THE CHILDREN OF ISRAEL. *For the Lord's portion is his people: Jacob is the lot of his inheritance* ‡: For, instead of, *according to the number of the children of Israel* (which if they found in the text, they understood no more than later critics) they wrote κατὰ ἀριθμὸν Ἀγγέλων Θεῦ, ACCORDING TO THE NUMBER OF THE ANGELS OF GOD. Which at least is intelligible, as referring to that old notion, original

* See Jer. x. 16. and li. 19.

† Levit. xxv. 23. Deut. xi. 12. Ps. x. 16. Is. xiv. 25. Jer. ii. 7. Chap. xvi. ver. 18. Ezek. xxxv. 10. Chap. xxxvi. ver. 5. 20. Chap. xxxviii. ver. 16. Wisd. of Sol. xii. 7.

‡ Deut. xxxii. 8, 9.

to the country where this translation was made. And Justin Martyr tells us *, that in the beginning, GOD had committed the government of the world to angels, who, abusing their trust, were degraded from their regency. But whether he learnt it from this translation, or took it from a worse place, I shall not pretend to determine.

The Land, thus selected by GOD for his personal residence, he bestows upon his chosen People. *Behold* (says he) *the land of Canaan which I give unto the children of Israel for a possession* †. This too was according to the common notions of those times. Thus Jephthah, who appears to have been half paganized by a bad education, speaks to the King of the Ammonites, *Wilt not thou possess that which Chemosh thy* GOD *giveth thee to possess? So, whomsoever the Lord our* GOD *shall drive out from before us, them will we possess* ‡.

It was no wonder, therefore, when GOD was thus pleased, for the wise ends of his providence, to be considered, by a prejudiced people, in this character, that all the pagan nations round about should regard the GOD OF ISRAEL no otherwise than as a local tutelary Deity; too apt, by their common prejudices, to see him only under that idea. Thus he is called the GOD *of the Land* §,—*the* GOD *of the Hills* ‖, &c. And it is expressly said, that *they spoke against the* GOD *of Jerusalem, as against the Gods of the people of the earth, which were the work of the hands of man* ¶. By which is meant, that they treated him as a local tutelary Deity, of a confined and bounded power: for it was not the old pagan way to speak

* Apologet. i.
† Deut. xxxii. 49.
‡ Judg. xi. 24.
§ 2 Kings xvii. 26. & xviii. 33, & seq.
‖ 1 Kings xx. 23.
¶ 2 Chron. xxxii. 19.

against

against one another's Gods, in discredit of their Divinity: and this circumscribed dominion was esteemed, by them, no discredit to it: But, by the Jews, the worshippers of the true GOD, it was justly held to be the greatest. Therefore, to call the GOD of Israel *the God of the hills, and not of the plain, was speaking against him.*

For, here again we must observe, that when GOD, agreeably to the whole method of this Dispensation, takes advantage of, or indulges his people in, any habituated notion or custom, he always interweaves some characteristic note of difference, to mark the institution for his own. Thus in this indulgence of their prejudices concerning a tutelary GOD,

1. He first institutes, upon it, a *Theocracy*; a practice just the reverse of Paganism: for there Kings became Gods; whereas here, GOD condescended to become King *.

2. Secondly, he forbids all kind of community or intercourse between the GOD of Israel and the Gods of the Nations, either by joining their worship to his, or so much as owning their Divinity. Thus were the Israelites distinguished from all other people in the most effectual manner; for, as we have often had occasion to observe, there was a general intercommunity amongst the Gods of paganism: They acknowledged one another's pretensions; they borrowed one another's titles; and, at length, entered into a kind of partnership of Worship. All the Pagan nations, we see, owned the GOD of Israel for a tutelary Deity †. But His followers were not permitted to be so complaisant. There was to be no fellowship between

* See note [E] at the end of this Book.

† 2 Kings xviii. 25. Jer. iv. 2, 3.

GOD and Belial; though a good understanding always subsisted between Belial and Dagon.

But, amidst a vast number of characteristic circumstances proving the origin of the MOSAIC RELIGION to have been different from that of every other nation, there is none more illustrious than this, *That the Mosaic religion was built upon a former*, namely the PATRIARCHAL: whereas the various Religions of the Pagan world were all unrelated to, and independent of, any other *.

And yet the famous Author of *The Grounds and Reasons of the Christian Religion*, hath been hardy enough to employ one whole chapter to prove, that *this method of introducing Christianity into the world, by building and grounding it on the Old Testament, is agreeable to the common method of introducing new Revelations, whether real or* PRETENDED, *or any changes in religion; and also the nature of things* †. "For if (says he) we consider the various revolutions "and changes in religion, whereof we have any tole- "rable history, in their beginning, we shall find them, "for the most part, to be grafted on some old stock, "or founded on some preceding revelations, which "they were either to supply, or fulfil, or retrieve from "corrupt glosses, innovations, and traditions, with "which by time they were incumbered: and this, "which MAY SEEM MATTER OF SURPRISE TO THOSE, "WHO DO NOT REFLECT on the changeable nature "of all things, hath happened; though the old reve- "lations, far from intending any change, ingraftment, "or new dispensation, *did for the most part declare* "*they were to last for ever*, and did forbid all altera- "tions and innovations, they being the last dispensa- "tion intended." p. 21.

* See Vol. I. book i. † Grounds and Reasons, &c. p. 20.

Here

Here are two things asserted: 1. That the building new Religions and new Revelations upon old, was agreeable to the common method of the ancient world. 2. That it was agreeable to the nature of things. These are discoveries one would little have expected.

I. Let us first examine his FACTS.—But to judge truly of their force, we must remember, that the observation is made to discredit what Believers call true Revelation, by shewing that all false Religions have taken the same method of propagation.

1. His first point is, *That this method was agreeable to the common practice of the ancient world.*—Would not one expect now an instance of some confessedly false Religion, between the time of ABRAHAM and CHRIST, which pretended to be built on some preceding Revelation? Without doubt: If it were only for this, that there is no other way of proving the proposition. Besides, to say the truth, such an instance would be well worth attending to, for its extreme curiosity. But he could not give the reader what was not to be had: and therefore he endeavours to make up this deficiency of *fact*, by shewing, 1. That the JEWISH Religion, like the CHRISTIAN, pretended to be built on a preceding. "Thus the mission of Moses to the "Israelites (says he) supposed a former revelation of "God (who from the beginning seems to have been "constantly giving a succession of dispensations and "revelations) to their ancestors; and many of the "religious precepts of Moses were borrowed, or had "an agreement with the religious rites of the heathens, "with whom the Israelites had correspondence, and "particularly with the religious rites of the Egyptians, "(who upon that account seem confounded with the

" Israelites by some pagans, as both their religious " rites were equally, and at the same time, prohibited " by others) to whose religious rites the Israelites " seem to have been *Conformists* during their abode " in Egypt." p. 22. Go thy way, for a good Reasoner! —To prove that false revelations had the same pretensions of dependency on a preceding, as the true have had, he shews that all the true had these pretensions. But this is but half the atchievment. The best part is still behind. 'Tis a rarity; a blunder ingrafted on a sophism. He was not content to say that Moses founded his Religion on the Patriarchal: He must needs go on,—*And many of the religious precepts of Moses were borrowed, or had an agreement with the religious rites of the Heathens, with whom the Israelites had correspondence, and particularly with the religious Rites of the Egyptians.* Now, how it comes to pass that Moses's borrowing from the religious rites of the Egyptians, whose religion he formerly condemned of falsehood, should be metamorphosed into an example of one Religion's being founded upon, or receiving its authority from, another, I confess, I cannot comprehend. If he were not at the head of the FREETHINKERS, I should suspect some small confusion in his ideas: and that this great Reasoner was unable to distinguish between, *a Religion's supporting itself on one preceding, which it acknowledged to be true:* and *a Religion's complying, for the sake of inveterate prejudices, with some innocent practices of another religion, which it was erected to overthrow, as false.*

2. He shews next, that those false religions which came AFTER the Jewish and the Christian, and are confessed to mimic their peculiarities, pretended to be built on preceding revelations.—" The mission of " Zoroaster

" Zoroaster to the Persians supposed the religion of " the Magians; which had been, for many ages past, " the antient national religion of the Medes as well as " Persians. The mission of Mahomet supposed Chris- " tianity; as that did, Judaism." p. 23. This is still better. The design of his general observation, *That it was the common method for new revelations to be built and grounded on preceding revelations*, was to shew that the revelations, which we call true, imitated the false. And he proves it, --- by shewing that the false imitated the true. That Mahomet's did so, is agreed on all hands. And those bewildered men who would have us credit the story of a *late* Zoroaster, do, and must suppose that he borrowed from Judaism. But the truth is, the whole is an idle tale, invented by Persian writers under the early Califs. However, though the Zoroaster of Hyde and Prideaux be a mere phantom, yet the Religion called by his name, was a real thing, and started up in the first ages of Mahometanism, with a Bible to support its credit, in imitation of, and to oppose to, the Alcoran. But this neat device unluckily detects the whole imposture: For in the Age of Mahomet, and in the time of the first Commentators on the Alcoran, the Persians were esteemed by them as Idolaters, and without a Bible; (and they had good Opportunity, by their constant commerce thither, to be well informed:) Which is agreeable to every thing that the earlier and the later Greek Writers unanimously deliver of the Persian Religion. But that, on the appearance of Mahometanism, the Persians should do what the Greeks did on the first appearance of Christianity, refine their old idolatrous worship, till they brought it to what Hyde and Prideaux observe it is at this day, amongst the remainder of the Magian sect in Persia and India, is nothing strange. The wonder

wonder is, that these learned men should have swallowed so gross a cheat, on the testimony of later Mahometan Writers; who had so many motives to support it, and so slender abilities to detect it; whose propensity to fabling is so great as even to discredit any truth that rests on their authority; and whose talents in the art of lying are so little proportioned to their inclination to exercise it, that they never fail of defeating their own impositions. This argument, therefore, was in all respects worthy the Author of *The Grounds and Reasons of the Christian Religion.*

3. Lastly, he tells us, that "the Siamese and Brachmans both pretend that they have had *a succession of incarnate deities* amongst them, who at due distances of time have brought new Revelations from heaven; each succeeding one depending on the former; and that religion is to be conveyed on, in that way, for ever." p. 23.—He promised to prove a succession of Religions in the ancient world, the later founded and depending on the preceding: And he proves—*a succession of incarnate deities,* talked of amongst the MODERN pagans of India and Siam; and, from this succession concludes for a succession of DEPENDING RELIGIONS, of which they have no kind of notion. Nor are these extravagancies, which their priests do indeed talk of, any other than late inventions of their priests, to oppose to Mahometan and Christian Missionaries. But a *succession of incarnate deities* was so arch a ridicule on the mysteries of our holy faith, that it was to be brought in at any rate. But now the joke is over, let me tell him, he need not have gone so far for it. Were not Cœlus, Saturn, Jupiter, Mars, &c. *a succession of incarnate deities?* yet were any of the Religions, which had those Gods for their author or object, FOUNDED or DEPENDENT on (though they

they succeeded to) one another? Here again, our sagacious Frecthinker was at a falt; and, with all his logic, could not distinguish between *one Religion's being built upon another*, and *one Religion's simply succeeding another*.

II. He comes next to the NATURE OF THINGS. The reader has seen how short he falls of his reckoning from *fact*: But let him fairly make up his accounts, and we shall not differ with him about his way of payment; but willingly receive his deficiencies of Fact, in Reason.—"If we consider (says he) the "*nature of things*, we shall find that it must be diffi- "cult, if not impossible, to introduce amongst men "(who in all civilized countries are bred up in the "belief of some revealed religion) a revealed religion "wholly new, or such as has no reference to a pre- "ceding one: for that would be to combat all men "in too many respects, and not to proceed on a "sufficient number of principles necessary to be "assented to by those, on whom the first impres- "sions of a new Religion are proposed to be made." pp. 23, 24.

Here his head was full of the theologic ideas of modern times; where one Religion is maintained and propagated on the destruction of all the rest. And that indeed would be *combating all men in too many respects*, without good evidence in the Religion thus proposed. But had he had the least knowledge of Antiquity, he would have known that the Gentile religions of those times were founded on different principles, and propagated on different practices. Not one of those numerous Religions ever pretended to accuse another of falschood; and therefore was never itself in danger of being so accused. They very amicably

amicably owned one another's pretensions; and all that a new Religion claimed, was to be let into partnership with the rest, whose common practice was to trade in shares *. Yet, according to this great Philosopher, *it was difficult, if not impossible—it was combating all men in too many respects—It was not proceeding on a sufficient number of principles necessary to be assented to*, &c. But he can make Men, as well as Religions, change their natures when he wants them for some glorious mischief. It is his more usual way, and so it is of all his fellows, to make the People (the gross body of mankind) run headlong into Religion, without the least inquiry after evidence. But here we are told it *is very difficult, if not impossible*, to induce them to think well of a Religion which hath not the most plausible evidence for its support: That the not giving them this, is *not proceeding on a sufficient number of principles*, but *combating all men in too many respects*, &c.

And this is all we can get out of him, FROM THE NATURE OF THINGS. But as he has raised a curiosity which he knew not how to gratify, I shall endeavour to supply his ignorance; and from this *nature of things*, shew the reader, 1. How the Religions of MOSES and JESUS must NECESSARILY SUPPOSE a *dependency* on some preceding. 2. How the ancient Religions of paganism must NECESSARILY NOT SUPPOSE any such *dependency*; and 3. How it came to pass, that more modern impostors, risen since the coming of Christianity, imitated the true, rather than the false Religions of ancient times, in this pretence to *dependency*.

I. The PATRIARCHAL, the JEWISH, and the CHRISTIAN Religions, all professed to come from the

* See Vol. II. book ii. p. 301. & seq.

only

only one GOD, the Creator of all things. Now as the whole race of mankind must be the common object of its Creator's care, all his Revelations, even those given only to a part, must needs be thought ultimately directed to the interest of the whole: consequently, every later Revelation must suppose the TRUTH of the preceding. Again, when several successive Revelations are given by him, some less, some more extensive, we must conclude them to be the parts of ONE ENTIRE DISPENSATION; which, for reasons best known to infinite Wisdom, are gradually enlarged and opened: consequently every later must not only suppose the TRUTH of every preceding Revelation, but likewise their mutual RELATION and DEPENDENCY. Hence we see, there may be weighty reasons, why *God, from the beginning, should have been constantly giving a succession of Dispensations and Revelations*; as this Author (p. 22.) with a lewd sneer, seems to take a pleasure in observing. If therefore, what we call the true Revelation came from GOD, these Religions must needs be, and profess to be, dependent on one another.

II. Let us see next how the case stood in the ancient Pagan world. Their pretended Revelations were not from the ONE GOD; but all from local tutelary Deities; each of which was supposed to be employed in the care of his own Country or People, and unconcerned in every Other's department. Consequently, between earlier and later Revelations of this kind, there could be no more dependency, than there was opposition: But each stood on its own foundation, single, unrelated, and original.

III. But when, by the propagation of the Gospel, the knowledge of the ONLY ONE GOD was spread abroad

abroad over the whole earth, and the absurdities of Polytheism fully understood by the people, an Impostor, who would now obtrude a new Religion on the world, must of necessity pretend to have received it from that *only one God.* But the probability of his giving a Revelation now, being seen greatly to depend on his having given one before, our Impostor would be forced to own the truth of those preceding Religions, which professed to come from that GOD. And as the credit of the new Religion was best advanced by its being thought a finishing part of an incomplete Dispensation, he would, at the same time, bottom it on the preceding. Besides, as an Impostor must needs want that necessary mark of a divine Mission, the power of Miracles, he could cover the want no otherwise than by a pretended relation to a Religion which had well established itself by Miracles. And thus, in fact, MAHOMET framed the idea of his imposture. He pretended his new Religion was the completion of Christianity, as Christianity was the completion of Judaism; for that the world not being to be won by the mild and gentle invitations of Jesus, was now to be *compelled to enter in* by Mahomet. And so again, to complete the imitation, this last and greatest Prophet, as his followers believe him to be, is pretended to be foretold in the New Testament, as the Messiah was in the Old.

Thus this notable observation, from whence the Author of *the Grounds and Reasons of the Christian Religion* endeavoured to deduce so discrediting a likeness between all *false* religion, and what we believers hold to be the *true*, comes, we see, just to nothing.

But he has yet another flagrant mark of *likeness*, in reserve: And thus he goes on, from discovery to dis-

covery.—*In building thus upon* PROPHECY (says he) *as a principle, Jesus and his Apostles had the concurrence of all sects of Religion amongst the Pagans.* Is it possible? Yes. *For the Pagans universally built their Religion on* DIVINATION. pp. 27, 28. As much as to say, the people of Amsterdam, in building their town-house upon piles, had (in the mode of laying a foundation) the concurrence of all the cities in England; who build theirs upon stone, or clay, or gravel. In the Jewish writings there are Prophecies of a future and more perfect Dispensation; which, Jesus claiming to belong to HIS, his Religion was properly built upon PROPHECIES. The Heathens made Gods of their dead benefactors, and then consulted them at their shrines, as Oracles; they inspected the entrails of beasts; they observed the flight of birds; they interpreted dreams and uncommon phænomena; and all these things they called DIVINATION. But what likeness is there between these things and Prophecies, the Prophecies on which Jesus founded his Religion? Just as much as there is between TRUTH and what these men call, FREETHINKING. But he has found a device to bring them related. 'Tis a master-piece; and the Reader shall not be robbed of it. *They* [the Pagans], says he, *learnt that art* [Divination] *in schools, or under discipline, as the Jews did prophesying in the schools and colleges of the Prophets; where, the learned Dodwell says, the candidates for prophecy were taught the rules of divination practised by the Pagans, who were skilled therein, and in possession of the art long before them**. This idle whimsy of the *learned Dodwell* concerning the schools of the Prophets has been exposed, as it deserves, already†. But for the sake of so extraordinary an

* See Vol. IV. book iv. § 6. † Ibid.

argument

argument (an *impiety*, grafted on its proper stock, an *absurdity*), it deserves to be admitted, though it be but for a moment. The reasoning then stands thus: Divination was an art learnt in the schools; so was one kind of Prophecy, or the Jewish art of Divination: those who learnt this Jewish art of divination were taught the rules of pagan divination: THEREFORE, pagan divination and ANOTHER kind of Prophecy, such as foretold the coming of the Messiah, were things of the same kind. Incomparable reasoner! and deservedly placed at the head of modern Freethinking! But his learning is equal to his sense, and his premises just as true as his conclusion: *The Pagans universally built their Religion on divination.* I believe there are few school-boys, who would not laugh at his blunder, and tell him it was just otherwise, *that the Pagans universally built divination on their Religion.* All that was ever *built on divination* was now and then a Shrine or a Temple.—To return:

III.

But these prejudices, concerning local tutelary Deities, which made the introduction of a Theocracy so easy, occasioned as easy a defection from the Laws of it.

1. For these tutelary Deities owning one another's pretensions, there was always a friendly intercourse of mutual honours, though not always of mutual worship. For at first, each God was supposed to be so taken up with his own people, as to have little leisure or inclination to attend to the concerns of others.—Now this prejudice was the *first* source of the Jewish idolatry.

2. But the pretensions of these Gods being thus reciprocally acknowledged; and Some, by the fortunate

nate circumstances of their followers, being risen into superior fame, the Rites used in their Worship were eagerly affected. And this was the *second* source of the Israelites' idolatry; exemplified in the erection of the GOLDEN CALF, and their fondness for all Egyptian superstitions in general.

3. But of these tutelary deities there being two sorts, GENTILITIAL and LOCAL; the one ambulatory, and the other stationed; the latter were fixed to their posts, as a kind of *heir-loom*, which they who conquered and possessed the country were obliged to maintain in their accustomed honours. And whatever *gentilitial* Gods a People might bring with them, yet the *local* God was to have a necessary share in the religious Worship of the new Comers. Nay, it was thought impiety, even in foreigners, while they sojourned only in a strange Country, not to sacrifice to the Gods of the place. Thus Sophocles makes Antigone say to her father, that a stranger should both venerate and abhor those things which are venerated and abhorred in the city where he resides *. Celsus gives the reason of so much complaisance—"Because (says he) the several parts of the world were, from the beginning, distributed to several powers, each of which has his peculiar allotment and residence †." And those who were loth to leave their

* Τόλμα ξεῖνος
Ἐπὶ ξένης, ὦ τλᾶμον, ὅ, τι
Καὶ πόλις τέτροφεν ἄφιλον
Ἀποστυγεῖν κ᾽ τὸ φίλον σέβεσθαι. Act. i. Oedip. Colon.

† — ἀλλὰ κ᾽ ὅτι, ὡς εἰκὸς, τὰ μέρη τῆς γῆς ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἄλλα ἄλλοις ἐποπλαῖς νενεμημένα κ᾽ καΐά τινας ἐπικρατείας διειλημμένα, ταύτη κ᾽ διοικεῖται. κ᾽ δὴ τὰ παρ᾽ ἑκάστοις ὀρθῶς ἂν περάτλοιτο ταύτη δρώμενα, ὅπη ἐκείνοις φίλον, παραλύειν δὲ ἐχ ὅσιον εἶναι τὰ ἐξ ἀρχῆς καΐὰ τόπους νενομισμένα. Orig. cont. Cels. lib. v. p. 247. See the passage, from Plato, pp. 230, 231.

paternal Gods when they sought new settlements, at least held themselves obliged to worship them with the Rites, and according to the usages of the Country they came to inhabit. Against this more qualified principle of Paganism, Moses thought fit to caution his People, in the following words: *When the Lord thy* GOD *shall cut off the nations from before thee, whither thou goest to possess them, and thou succeedest them, and dwellest in their land: take heed to thyself that thou be not snared by following them, after that they be destroyed from before thee; and that thou* ENQUIRE NOT AFTER THEIR GODS, *saying,* HOW *did these nations serve their Gods? even* SO WILL I DO *likewise**. But the adoption of these new GODS, as well as of their Rites, was so general, that David makes his being unjustly driven into an idolatrous land, the same thing as being forced to serve idolatrous Gods. For thus he expostulates with his persecutor, "Now therefore, I pray thee, let my lord the king hear "the words of his servant: If the Lord have stirred "thee up against me, let him accept an offering: but "if they be the children of men, cursed be they be-"fore the Lord; for they have driven me out this day "from abiding *in the inheritance of the Lord, saying,* "GO SERVE OTHER GODS†. To the same principle Jeremiah likewise alludes, in the following words, *Therefore will I cast you out of this land into a land that ye know not, neither ye nor your fathers: and* THERE SHALL YE SERVE OTHER GODS *day and night; where I will not shew you favour*‡. By which is not meant that they should be *forced*, any otherwise than by the superstitious dread of divine vengeance for a slighted worship: for at this time civil restraint in matters of religion was very rare.

* Deut. xii. 29, 30. † 1 Sam. xxvi. 19. ‡ Ch. xvi. ver. 13.

But

But the imaginary vengeance which the tutelary GOD was supposed to take on those, who, inhabiting his Land, yet slighted his Worship, was at length really taken on the Idolatrous Cutheans, when they came to cultivate the land of Israel. For the Almighty having, in condescension to the prejudices of the Israelites, assumed the title of a TUTELARY LOCAL GOD, and chosen Judea for his peculiar regency; it appeared but fit that he should discharge, in good earnest, the imaginary function of those tutelary GODS, in order to distinguish himself from *the lying Vanities* of that infatuated age. Therefore when so great a portion of his Chosen people had been led captive, and a mixt rabble of Eastern idolaters were put into their place, he sent plagues amongst them for their profanation of the holy Land. Which calamity their own principles easily enabled them to account for. The story is told in these words: "And the "king of Assyria brought men from Babylon, and "from Cuthah, and from Ava, and from Hamath, "and from Sepharvaim, and placed them in the cities "of Samaria, instead of the children of Israel: and "they possessed Samaria, and dwelt in the cities "thereof. And so it was at the beginning of their "dwelling there, that they feared not the Lord: "therefore the Lord sent lions amongst them, which "slew some of them. Wherefore they spake to the "king of Assyria, saying, The nations which thou hast "removed, and placed in the cities of Samaria, KNOW "NOT THE MANNER OF THE GOD OF THE LAND: "therefore he hath sent lions amongst them, and "behold, they slay them, because they know not the "manner of the God of the land. Then the king "of Assyria commanded, saying, Carry thither one "of the Priests—and let him teach them *the manner*

" *of the God of the land.* Then one of the Priests " came and dwelt in Bethel, and taught them how " they should fear the Lord. Howbeit, every nation " made Gods of their own—every nation in their " cities wherein they dwelt.—So these nations feared " the Lord, and served their graven images, both " their children, and their childrens children: as did " their fathers, so do they unto this day*."

But, lest this account of the miraculous interposition should be misunderstood as an encouragement of the notion of local Gods, or of *intercommunity* of worship, rather than a vindication of the sanctity of that Country, which was consecrated to the God of Israel, the sacred Historian goes on to acquaint us with the perverse influence this judgment had on the new inhabitants, so contrary to the divine intention. " They feared the Lord, and served their own Gods, " after the manner of the nations whom they carried " away from thence. Unto this day they do after the " former manners: they fear not the Lord, neither do " they after their statutes, or after their ordinances, " or after the Law and Commandment which the " Lord commanded the children of Jacob, whom he " named Israel †." *They feared the Lord, and served their own Gods*; that is, they feared the vengeance impending on the exclusion of the Worship of the God of Israel. But *they feared not the Lord, neither did after their Statutes.* That is, they transgressed the Commandment which they found so frequently repeated in the Pentateuch, of joining no other Worship to that of the God of Israel.

And this was the true reason why the Kings of Persia and Syria (when Judea afterwards became a province to them) so frequently appointed sacrifices to

* 2 Kings xvii. 24. et seq. † Ver. 33, 34.

be

be offered to the *God of the land*, at Jerusalem, in behalf of themselves and families. Nor was the practice disused when the Jews fell under the Roman yoke; both Julius Cæsar and Augustus making the same provision for the *felicity* of the Empire.

Hence therefore the *third* source of the Jewish idolatries. It was this superstitious reverence to local Deities within their own departments, which made them so devoted, while in Egypt, to the Gods of that Country; and when in possession of their own land, to the tutelary Gods of Canaan.

But this *intercommunity* of Worship, begun by the migration of People and Colonies from one country to another, grew more general, as those migrations became more frequent. Till at length the frequency, aided by many other concurrent causes (occasionally taken notice of in several places of this work), made the *intercommunity* universal. And this was the *last* source of Jewish idolatries. This drew them into the service of every God they heard of; or from whom they fancied any special good might be obtained; especially the Gods of all great and powerful Nations. These prejudices of opinion, joined to those of practice which they had learnt in Egypt, were the true causes of their so frequent lapse into idolatry.

From all this it appears, that their defection from the God of Israel, wicked and abominable as it was, did not however consist in the rejecting him as a false God, or in renouncing the Law of Moses as a false Religion; but only, in joining foreign Worship and idolatrous Ceremonies to the Ritual of the true God. Their bias to the idolatries of Egypt was inveterate custom; their inclination for the idolatries of Canaan was a prevailing principle that the tutelary God of the place should be worshipped by its inhabitants;

and their motive for all other idolatries, a vain expectation of good from the guardian Gods of famous and happy Nations.

These were all inflamed by that common stimulation of a debauched People, the luxurious and immoral rites of Paganism; for it is to be observed that these defections generally happened amidst the abuses of prosperity. There is a remarkable passage in the Book of Joshua, which sets this matter in a very clear light. The Israelites having lapsed into idolatry, Joshua drew together their Heads and Rulers at Shechem, in order to a reformation. And the topic, he insists upon for this purpose, is not, that the God of Israel was the only true God, the Maker of all things; but that he was the family-God of the race of Abraham, for which he had done so great things. And this he prosecutes from the 2d to the 13th verse of the xxivth chap. His conclusion from all is, "Now "therefore fear the Lord, and *serve him in sincerity* "*and in truth:* and put away the Gods which your "Fathers served on the other side of the flood, and "in Egypt*." However (continues he) at least make your choice, and either serve the Lord, or serve the Gods of other People. "*And the People answered*, "*God forbid we should forsake the Lord, to serve other* "*Gods*†: for we acknowledge him to be that God "who has done so great things for us." To this Joshua replies, "*Ye cannot serve the Lord; for he is* "*an holy God; he is a jealous God; he will not forgive* "*your transgressions, nor your sins*‡." From all this it appears, that the point debated between Joshua and his People, was not, whether the Israelites should return to God, whom they had rejected and forsaken; but whether they should serve him ONLY, or, as Joshua

* Ver. 14. † Ver. 16, 17. ‡ Ver. 19.

expresses

expresses it, *serve him in sincerity and in truth.* For on their exclaiming against the impiety of rejecting God,—" *God forbid we should forsake the Lord*; " we will still serve him;" meaning along with the other Gods,—their Leader replies, *Ye cannot serve the Lord, for he is an* HOLY *God: he is a* JEALOUS *God*; *i.e.* As a *holy God*, he will not be served with the lewd and polluted Rites of the Nations; and as a *jealous God*, he will not suffer you to serve Idols of wood and stone with his Rites. The consequence is, You must serve him alone, and only with that worship which he himself hath appointed.

That this was the whole of their Idolatry, is farther seen from the accounts which the holy Prophets give us of it, in their reproofs and expostulations.

ISAIAH says, *To what purpose is the multitude of your Sacrifices unto me? saith the Lord: I am full of the Burnt-offerings of Rams, and the Fat of fed Beasts,* &c.* To whom are these words addressed? To those who, besides their numerous Immoralities, there reckoned up at large, delighted in idolatrous worship in *Groves* and *high Places.* For the Denunciation is thus continued: *They shall be ashamed of the* OAKS *which ye have desired, and ye shall be confounded for the* GARDENS *that ye have chosen* †. He describes them again in this manner: *A People that provoketh me to Anger continually* TO MY FACE; *that sacrificeth in Gardens, and burneth Incense upon Altars of Brick* ‡. Yet, at the same time, these men gloried so much in being the peculiar People of the Lord, that they said, *Stand by thyself, come not near to me; for I am holier than thou* §.

JEREMIAH draws them in the very same colours: *Though they say, The Lord liveth, surely they swear*

* Chap. i. ver. 11. † Ver. 29. ‡ Ch. lxv. ver. 3. § Ver. 5.

falsely *, i. e. vainly, idolatrously. Why? The Reason is given soon after; they swore likewise by their idols: *How shall I pardon thee for this? thy Children have forsaken me, and* SWORN BY THEM THAT ARE NO GODS †. Again, *Will ye steal, murder, and commit adultery, and* SWEAR FALSELY, *and* BURN INCENSE UNTO BAAL, *and walk after other Gods that ye know not* [i. e. strange Gods]; *and come and* STAND BEFORE ME IN THIS HOUSE, *which is called by my Name, and say, We are delivered to do all these abominations* ‡? And in another place we find them thus expostulating with the Prophet,—*Wherefore hath the Lord pronounced all this Evil against us? or what is our Iniquity? or what is our Sin that we have committed against the Lord our* GOD §? and the Prophet answering them in this manner,—*because your Fathers have forsaken me, saith the Lord, and walked after other Gods, and have served them, and have worshipped them, and have forsaken me, and have not kept my Law: And ye have done worse than your Fathers* ‖. But is it possible they could be so exceeding stupid or impudent as to talk at this rate, had they ever renounced the RELIGION, or the GOD of their Forefathers?

EZEKIEL, likewise, shews plainly that their idolatries consisted in polluting the Religion of Moses with foreign worship: "Son of man, these men have set "up their idols in their heart, and put the stumbling-"block of their iniquity before their Face: SHALL "I BE INQUIRED OF *at all by them?* Therefore "speak unto them, and say unto them, Thus saith the "Lord GOD, Every man of the house of Israel, that "putteth up his idols in his heart, and putteth the

* Chap. v. ver. 2. † Ver. 7. ‡ Chap. vii. ver. 9, 10.
§ Chap. xvi. ver. 10. ‖ Ver. 11, 12.

"stumbling-

" stumbling-block of iniquity before his face, and " *cometh to the Prophet*; I the Lord will answer him " that cometh according to the multitude of his " idols *," &c. And again: *As for you, O house of Israel, Thus saith the Lord God; Go ye, serve ye every one his idols, and hereafter also, if ye will not hearken unto me: but* POLLUTE YE MY HOLY NAME NO MORE *with your gifts, and with your idols* †, i. e. with gifts offered up to me with idolatrous Rites. In another place he giveth a terrible instance of this horrid mixture: " They have committed adultery, and blood is " in their hands, and with their idols have they com- " mitted adultery, and have also caused their sons, " whom they bare unto me, to pass for them through " the fire to devour them. Moreover, this they have " done unto me: THEY HAVE DEFILED MY SANC- " TUARY IN THE SAME DAY, and have profaned " my Sabbaths. For when they had slain their Chil- " dren to their idols, then THEY CAME THE SAME " DAY INTO MY SANCTUARY to profane it: and " lo, thus have they done in the midst of mine house ‡." These, and innumerable other passages in the Prophets to the same purpose, evidently shew, that this defection from the God of Israel consisted not in a rejection of Him, or of his Law.

This appears still more evident, from the following considerations:

1. That, in the course of their idolatries, they abused the memorials of their own Dispensation to superstitious Worship. Such as the *Brazen Serpent* of Moses; to which, in the time of their kings, they paid divine honours §. And I am much mistaken if the monument of *Twelve stones*, taken out of Jordan, and

* Chap. xiv. ver. 3, 4. † Chap. xx. ver. 39.
‡ Chap. xxiii. ver. 37—39. § 2 Kings xviii. 4.

pitched

pitched in Gilgal for a memorial of their miraculous passage*, was not equally abused. What induces me to think so, is the following passage of ISAIAH: "Draw near hither, ye sons of the sorceress, the seed "of the adulterer, and the whore. Against whom do "you sport yourselves?—enflaming yourselves with "idols under every green tree, slaying the children in "the valleys, under the clifts of the rocks? AMONG "THE SMOOTH STONES OF THE STREAM IS THY "PORTION; they, they are thy lot: EVEN TO THEM "HAST THOU POURED A DRINK-OFFERING, thou "hast offered a meat-offering. Should I receive "comfort in these†?"

2. The Israelites were most prone to idolatry in PROSPEROUS TIMES; and generally returned to the God of their fathers in ADVERSITY, as appears from their whole history. Against this impotence of mind they were more than once cautioned, before they entered into the Land of Blessings, that they might afterwards be left without excuse. "And it shall "be (says Moses) when the Lord thy GOD shall have "brought thee into the land which he sware unto thy "fathers, to Abraham, to Isaac, and to Jacob, to "give thee great and goodly cities which thou build-"edst not, and houses full of all good things which "thou filledst not, and wells digged which thou diggedst "not, vineyards and olive-trees which thou plantedst "not; when thou shalt have eaten and be full; then "beware lest thou forget the Lord which brought thee "forth out of the Land of Egypt, from the house of "bondage. Thou shalt fear the Lord thy GOD, and "serve him, and shalt swear by his name. Ye shall "not go after other Gods, of the Gods of the people

* Josh. iv. 3. 20, 21, 22. † Isaiah lvii. 3. et seq.

"which

" which are round about you*." However, Moses himself lived to see an example of this perversity, while they remained in the Wilderness: *But Jeshurun* (says he) *waxed fat and kicked: Thou art waxed fat, thou art grown thick, thou art covered with fatness; then he forsook God which made him, and lightly esteemed the Rock of his Salvation*†. And the Prophet HOSEA assures us, that the Day of prosperity was the constant season of their idolatry: *Israel is an empty vine, he bringeth forth fruit unto himself:* ACCORDING TO THE MULTITUDE OF HIS FRUIT HE HATH INCREASED THE ALTARS; ACCORDING TO THE GOODNESS OF HIS LAND THEY HAVE MADE GOODLY IMAGES‡. And again: *According to their pasture, so were they filled*; THEY WERE FILLED, AND THEIR HEART WAS EXALTED; *therefore have they forgotten me*§. This, therefore, is a clear proof that their defection from the God of Israel was not any doubt of his goodness or his power, but a wanton abuse of his blessings. Had they questioned the truth of the Law, their behaviour had been naturally otherwise: they would have adhered to it in times of prosperity; and would have left it in adversity and trouble. This the Deists would do well to consider.

3. The terms, in which God's warnings against this defection are expressed, plainly shew that their lapse into Idolatry was no rejection of him: he will have no FELLOWSHIP OF COMMUNION with false Gods. The names employed to design their idolatries are ADULTERY and WHOREDOM. And God's resentment of their defection is perpetually expressed by the same metaphor: which shews that his right over them was

* Deut. vi. 10. et seq. and chap. viii. ver. 11. et seq.

† Chap. xxxii. ver. 15. ‡ Ch. x. ver. 1. § Ch. xiii. ver. 6.

still

still acknowledged, just as an adulterous wife owns the husband's right, amidst all her pollutions with strangers. Where we may observe, that though their idolatry is so constantly styled ADULTERY, yet that of the Pagans never is; though it is very often called WHOREDOM. The reason of this distinction is plainly intimated in the following words of Ezekiel: "How weak is "thine heart, saith the Lord God, seeing thou dost "all these things, the work of an imperious whorish "woman? In that thou buildest thine eminent place "in the head of every way, and makest thine high "place in every street; and hast NOT BEEN AS AN "HARLOT (in that thou scornest hire) but AS A "WIFE that committeth ADULTERY, which taketh "strangers instead of her husband *." The Jews had entered into a covenant with God, which had made them his Peculiar: and when they had violated their plighted faith, they stood in that relation to him which an ADULTERESS does to her injured husband. The Gentiles, on the contrary, had entered into no *exclusive* engagements with their Gods, but the practice of *intercommunity* had prostituted them, as a common HARLOT, to all comers.

Thus much, however, must be confessed, that though the very worst of their idolatry consisted only in mixing foreign Worship with their own; yet, in their mad attention to those abominable things, God's Worship was often so extremely neglected, that He says, by the Prophet, *They have forsaken me, the fountain of living waters*, just as the Saint-worshippers in the Church of Rome forsake God, when in their private devotions the Vulgar think only of their tutelary Saints.

* Chap. xvi. ver. 30, 31, 32.

The

The several principal parts, therefore, of the Israelitish idolatry were these,

1. Worshipping the true GOD under an image, such as the *golden Calves*, 1 Kings xii. 28. — 2. Worshipping him in Places forbidden, as in *Groves*, 2 Kings xviii. 22. Is. xxxvi. 7. — 3. And by idolatrous Rites, such as *cutting themselves with knives*, Jer. xli. 5. — 4. By profaning the house of GOD with *idolatrous images*, Jer. xxxii. 34. — 5. By worshipping the *true* GOD *and Idols together*. — 6. And lastly, by worshipping *idols alone*, Jer. ii. 13. Yet by what follows, ver. 35, it appears, that even this was not a total apostasy from God.

If the Reader would know what use I intend to make of this account of the Jewish idolatry, to the main Question of my Work, I must crave his patience till we come to the last Volume. If he would know what other use may be made of it, he may consider what hath been said above; and be farther pleased to observe, that it obviates the objection of a sort of men equally unskilled in sacred and profane Antiquity (of whom more by and by), who, from this circumstance of the perpetual defection of the Jews into idolatry, would conclude that the Dispensation of GOD to them could never have been so illustrious as their history hath represented it. The strength of which objection rests on these two suppositions, that their idolatry consisted in renouncing the Law of Moses: And renouncing it as dissatisfied of its truth. Both which suppositions we have shewn to be false: the neglect of the law, during their most idolatrous practice, being no other than their preferring impure novel Rites (which most strongly engage the attention of a superstitious people) to old ones, whose sanctity has no carnal allurements. As to its original from GOD, they never

never entertained the least doubt concerning it; or that the GOD of Israel was the Creator of the Universe: They had been better instructed. *Thus saith the Lord*, the HOLY ONE OF ISRAEL and HIS MAKER*. As much as to say, the tutelary God of Israel is the Creator of the Universe: Indeed, in the period just preceding their Captivity, when the *extraordinary* providence was gradually withdrawing from them (a matter to be considered hereafter more at large), they began to entertain suspicions of GOD's farther regard to them, *as his chosen people*. But that nothing of this ever contributed to their idolatry, is plain from what we have shewn above, of its being a wanton defection in the midst of peace, prosperity, and abundance (the confessed effects of the *extraordinary* providence of the God of Israel), and of their constantly returning to him in times of difficulty and distress.

It is true, that this state of the case, which removes the infidel objection, at the same time discovers a most enormous perversity in that People; who, although convinced of the truth of a Religion forbidding all *intercommunity*, was for ever running astray after foreign Worship. However, would we but transport ourselves into these times, and remember what hath been said of that great principle of INTERCOMMUNITY OF WORSHIP; and how early and deeply the Jews had imbibed all the essential superstitions of Paganism; we should not only abate of our wonder, but see good cause to make large allowances to this unhappy People.

But there is another circumstance in this affair, too remarkable to be passed by in silence. As fond as the Jews were of borrowing their Neighbours' Gods, we

* Isaiah xlv. 11.

do

do not find, by any hints in ancient history, either profane or sacred, that their Neighbours were disposed to borrow theirs. Nay, we are assured, by Holy Writ, that they did not. GOD, by the Prophet Ezekiel, addressing himself to the Jews, speaks on this wise: —*And the contrary is in thee from other women in thy* WHOREDOMS, WHEREAS NONE FOLLOWETH THEE TO COMMIT WHOREDOMS: *and in that thou givest a reward, and no reward is given to thee; therefore thou art contrary**. I have shewn, elsewhere, that, by this, is meant, that no Gentile nation borrowed the Jewish Rites of Worship, to join them to their own. For as to Proselytes, or particular men converted to the service of the true God, we find a prodigious number in the Days of David and Solomon †. So again, in the Prophet Jeremiah, HATH A NATION CHANGED THEIR GODS, WHICH ARE YET NO GODS? *But my people have changed their glory for that which doth not profit* ‡; *i.e.* Hath any of the nations brought in the God of Israel into the number of their *false* Gods, as the Israelites have brought in theirs to stand in fellowship with the *true?* For that the Nations frequently changed their tutelary Gods, or one idol for another, is too notorious to need any proof.

This then is remarkable. The two principal reasons of the contrariety, I suppose, were these:

1. It was a thing well known to all the neighbouring Nations, that the God of Israel had an abhorrence of all *community* or alliance with the Gods of the Gentiles. This unsociable temper would deter those people (who all held him as a tutelary Deity of great power) from ever bringing him into the fellowship of their country Gods. For, after such declarations, they could not suppose his company would prove very

* Chap. xvi. ver. 34. † 2 Chron. ii. 17. ‡ Chap. ii. ver. 11.

propitious.

propitious. And in truth, they had a single instance of his ill neighbourhood, much to their cost; which brings me to the second reason.

2. The devastation he brought upon the Philistines, while the ARK rested in their quarters. For they having taken it from the Israelites in battle, carried it, as another *Palladium**, to Ashdod, and placed it in the temple of their God Dagon; who passed two so bad nights with his new Guest, that on the second morning he was found pared away to his *fishy stump* †: And this disaster was followed with a desolating pestilence. The people of Ashdod, who hitherto had intended to keep the Ark as one of their Idol-protectors, now declare *it should not abide with them, for that the hand of the* GOD OF ISRAEL *was sore upon them, and upon Dagon their God* ‡. They sent it therefore to Gath, another of their cities; and these having carried it about in a religious procession, it made the same havoc amongst them §. It was then removed a third time, with an intent to send it to Ekron; but the men of that city, terrified with the two preceding calamities, refused to receive it, saying *they had brought the Ark of the God of Israel, to slay them and their people* ‖. At length the Philistines by sad experience were brought to understand, that it was the best course to send it back to its owners: which they did with great honour; with gifts and trespass-offerings, to appease the offended Divinity ¶. And from this time we hear no more of any attempts amongst the Gentile Nations to join the Jewish Worship to their own. They considered the God of Israel as a tutelary Deity, absolutely UNSOCIABLE; who would have nothing to do with any but his own

* See note [F] at the end of this Book. † 1 Sam. v. 4, 5.
‡ Ver. 7. § Ver. 9. ‖ Ver. 10. ¶ Chap. vi. ver. 3.

People,

People, or with such Particulars as would worship him alone; and therefore, in this respect, different from all other tutelary Gods; each of which was willing to live in community with all the rest. This, the historian Josephus understood to be their sentiment, when he makes the Midianitish women address the young men of Israel in the following manner: *Nor ought you to be blamed for honouring those Gods which belong to the Country where you sojourn*. Besides, our Gods are* COMMON TO ALL THE NATIONS, *yours to* NONE OF THEM †.

And thus the matter rested, till occasion requiring that God should vindicate his property in that Country which he had chosen for his peculiar residence, as a tutelary Deity, He then drove the Pagan inhabitants of Samaria into his worship, just as he had driven the Philistines from it: and, in both cases, hath afforded to his servants the most illustrious proofs of divine wisdom, in his manner of conducting this wonderful economy to its completion.

But from this circumstance of the inability of the Law to prevent the Israelites from falling thus frequently into idolatry, a noble Writer ‡ has thought fit to ground a charge of imposture against the Lawgiver. It would therefore look like prevarication to let so fair an opportunity pass by without vindicating the Truth from his misrepresentations; especially when the nature and causes of that idolatry, as here ex-

* See what hath been said above concerning this imaginary obligation.

† Μέμψαιτο δ' οὐδεὶς, εἰ γῆς εἰς ἣν ἀφῖχθε τοὺς ἰδίους αὐτῆς Θεοὺς προτρέποισθε· καὶ ταῦτα. τῶν μὲν ἡμετέρων κοινῶν ὄντων πρὸς ἅπαντας, τοῦ δ' ὑμετέρου πρὸς μηδένα τοιούτου τυγχάνοντος. Antiq. Jud. l. iv. c. 6. Sect. 8.

‡ Lord Bolingbroke.

plained, tend so directly to expose all his pompous sophistry.

" One of the most conceivable perfections of a law " is (says his Lordship), that it be made with such a " foresight of all possible accidents, and with such " provisions for the due execution of it in all cases, " that the law may be effectual to govern and direct " these accidents, instead of lying at the mercy of " them. Such a law would produce its effect, by a " certain moral necessity resulting from itself, and " not by the help of any particular conjuncture. We " are able to form some general notions of laws thus " perfect; but to make them, is above humanity.— " To apply these reflections to the Law of Moses: " We cannot read the Bible without being convinced, " that no law ever operated so weak and uncertain " an effect as the Law of Moses did. Far from " prevailing against accidents and conjunctures, the " least was sufficient to interrupt the course and to " defeat the designs of it; to make that people not " only neglect the Law, but cease to acknowledge the " Legislator. To prevent this, was the first of these " designs; and if the second was, as it was, no doubt, " and as it is the design or pretence of all laws, to " secure the happiness of the people, THIS DESIGN " WAS DEFEATED AS FULLY AS THE OTHER; for " the whole history of this people is one continued " series of infractions of the Law, and of national " calamities. So that this law, considered as the par- " ticular law of this nation, has proved more ineffec- " tual than any other law perhaps that can be quoted. " If this be ascribed to the hardness of heart and ob- " stinacy of the people, in order to save the honour " of the Law, this honour will be little saved, and its " divinity ill maintained. This excuse may be ad-

" mitted

" mitted in the case of any human law; but we " speak here of a law supposed to be dictated by " divine Wisdom, which ought, and which would " have been able, if it had been such, to keep, in a " state of submission to it, and of national prosperity, " even a people rebellious and obstinate enough to " break through any other. If it be said, the Law " became ineffectual by the fault of those who go- " verned the people, their Judges and their Kings, let " it be remembered that their Judges and their Kings " were of GOD's appointment, for the most part at " least; that he himself is said to have been their " King during several ages; that his presence remained " amongst them, even after they had deposed him; " and that the High Priest consulted him, on any " emergency, by the Urim and Thummim. Occasional " miracles were wrought to inforce the Law; but this " was a standing miracle, that might serve both to " explain and inforce it, by the wisdom and authority " of the Legislator, as often as immediate recourse to " him was necessary. Can it be denied that the most " imperfect system of human laws would have been " rendered effectual by such means as these *?"

I. The sum of his Lordship's reasoning amounts to this, "that the Jewish Law being ordained for a certain end, it betrays its imposture by never being able to attain that end. For, first, if *infinite Wisdom* framed the Law, it must be most perfect; and it is essential to the perfection of a mean, for a Law is nothing but a mean, that it attain its end. Secondly, if *infinite Power* administered it, that Power must have rendered even the most imperfect system effectual to its purpose."

* Lord Bolingbroke's Works, vol. iii. pp. 292-294. 4to. Edit.

Thus, we see, his argument, when reduced to order, divides itself into these two branches; Considerations drawn, first, from the *Wisdom*, and, then, from the *Power* of the Deity, to discredit his workmanship.

1. We will take him at his best, with the improvement of order; and first examine his conclusions from the circumstance of *infinite Wisdom's framing the Law*.

Let us admit then for a moment, that his representation of the *end* of the Law is exact; and that his assertion of its never gaining its end, is true: I answer, that this objection to the divine original of the JEWISH LAW holds equally against the divine original of that Law of Nature, called the MORAL LAW. Now his Lordship pretends to believe that the *Moral Law* came from GOD: nay, that He was so entirely the Author and Creator of it, that if he had so pleased, he might have made it essentially different from what it is. But yet the experience of all ages hath shewn, that this Law *prevailed* still less *against accidents and conjunctures* than the Mosaic. For if the Jews were always transgressing their Law till the Captivity, yet after that disaster they as scrupulously adhered to it; and in that attachment have continued ever since: whereas, from the day the MORAL LAW was first given to mankind, to this present hour, *the least accident was sufficient to interrupt the course*, and to *defeat the designs of it*. How happened it, therefore, that this acknowledged Law of GOD did not *govern and direct accidents, instead of lying at the mercy of them?* Was it less *perfect* in its kind than the Mosaic? Who will pretend to say That, who believes the Moral Law came directly from GOD, and was delivered intimately to Man, for the service of the whole Species; while the Jewish

Jewish Law came less directly from him, as being conveyed through the ministry of Moses, for the sole use of the Jewish People?

To these questions his Lordship would be ready to answer, "That it is necessary for the subjects of a moral law to be endowed with free Will: That free Will may be abused; and that such abuses may render the most *perfect* system of Laws ineffectual." But this answer turns upon his Lordship, when applied to the defence of the Mosaic Law; and turns with redoubled force.

We see then how much he was mistaken in concluding, that, because *perfection in its kind* is one of the essential qualities of a divine Law, therefore such a law must of *necessity* produce its effect. His best reason for this fancy is, that *he is able to form some general notions of Laws thus perfect.* Which is no more than telling us (notwithstanding his parade of insinuated ability), that he is able to conceive how the Will may be controlled, and how Man may be transformed into a Machine. It is true, he owns, that this fact, viz. *to make laws thus perfect, is above humanity.* It is so; and let me add, as much *below the Divinity*; whose glory it is to draw his reasonable creatures with the *cords of a man.* A Law then, which produces its effects by a *certain necessity*, must do it by a necessity which is *physical*, and not *moral*; it being the quality of *physical*, not of *moral necessity*, that its effects cannot possibly be *defeated.*

Thus, we see, all there is of truth in his Lordship's assertion, of its being *essential to the perfection of a mean that it attain its end*, amounts only to this, A capacity in such a *mean* to attain its end, naturally and of itself. And this, we say, was the condition of the Mosaic Law; whatever might be the actual success.

The qualities of a Law capable of producing its effect, are to be sought for *à priori*, as the Schools speak, and not *à posteriori:* And if here we find intrinsic marks of excellence in the particular Laws; of consummate wisdom in the general Frame and Constitution of them; and can likewise discover those *accidents*, which, at some periods of the Dispensation, hindered the *effect*; we have done all that human reason can require, to vindicate this divine Law, from his Lordship's imputations of imposture.

To treat this matter as it deserves, would require a volume, though not so large as his Lordship's. But a few words will suffice to give the reader a general idea of the truth. And a general idea will be sufficient to shew the futility of the objection.

The admirable provision made by the Jewish Law for preventing idolatry, may be seen in the following instances:

1. That each specific Rite had a natural tendency to oppose, or to elude, the strong propensity to idolatrous Worship, by turning certain Pagan observances, with which the People were besotted, upon a proper object.—Hence that CONFORMITY between Jewish and Pagan Ceremonies, which so vainly alarms, and so vainly flatters, both the friends and enemies of Revelation.

2. That by their multiplicity, and the frequent returns of their celebration, they kept the People constantly busied and employed; so as to afford small time or leisure for the running into the forbidden superstitions of Paganism.

3. That the immediate benefits which followed the punctual observance of the Law, had a natural tendency to keep them attached to it.

4. But lastly, and above all, that the admirable coincidency between the *Institute of Law*, and the *Administration*

Administration of Government (whereby the Magistrate was enabled to punish idolatry with death, without violating the rights of mankind), went as far towards the actual prevention of idolatrous Worship, as, according to human conceptions, CIVIL LAW, whether of human or divine original, could possibly go. And resting the matter here, I suppose, one might safely defy his Lordship, with all his legislative talents, and his vain boast of them, *to form any general notions of a law more perfect.*

But this reasoning on the natural efficacy of the Mosaic Law, by its innate virtue, to prevent and to restrain Idolatry, which it did not at all times, in fact, prevent and restrain, will be further supported by this consideration: That the circumstance which, from time to time, occasioned a defection from the Law, was neither an indisposition to its establishment; nor any incoherence in its general Frame and Constitution; nor aversion to any particular part, nor yet a debility or weakness in its Sanctions. The sole cause of the defection was an inveterate prejudice, exterior and foreign to the Law. The Israelites, in their house of bondage, had been brought up in the principles of LOCAL AND TUTELARY DEITIES and INTERCOMMUNITY OF WORSHIP; principles often referred to, on various occasions, in the course of this work, for the illustration of the most important truths. In these Principles, they saw the whole race of mankind agree: and, from the Practice of them, in the worship of tutelar Deities, they thought they saw a world of good ready to arise. But not only the hope of good, but the fear of evil drew them still more strongly into this road of folly. Their Egyptian education had early impressed that bugbear-notion of a set of *local* Deities, who expected their dues of all who came to inhabit the

country which they had honoured with their protection *; and severely resented the neglect of payment on all new comers. This will easily account for the frequent defections of the Israelites in the divided service of the Gods of Canaan.—But it is difficult for men fixed down to the impressions of modern manners, to let themselves into distant times; or to feel the force of motives whose operations they have never experienced: Therefore, to convince such men that the early Jewish defections were not owing to any want of force or virtue in the Law, but to the exterior violence of an universal prejudice, it may be proper to observe, that, from the Babylonian Captivity to this very time, the Jews have been as averse to Idolatry under every form and fashion of it, as before they were propense unto it. If it be asked, what it was that occasioned so mighty a change? I answer, It was in part, the severity of that punishment which they had felt; and in part, the abatement of that foolish prejudice which they had favoured, of INTERCOMMUNITY OF WORSHIP: This, though still as general as ever in the Pagan world, had yet lost greatly of its force amongst the Jews, since they became acquainted with the principles of Gentile Philosophy; the sounder parts of which being found conformable to the *reasonable* doctrines of their Religion, were applied by them to the use of explaining the Law. An use which this Philosophy was never put to in the place of its birth, on account of the *absurdities* of Pagan worship; for this kept the principles of Philosophy and the practices of Religion at too great a distance to have any influence on one another. Such was the advantage the followers of the Jewish Law reaped from the Greek Philosophy; an

* See what has been said on this matter just above, in the case of the *Cuthæans*, inhabiting Samaria.

advantage

advantage peculiar to them; and which made some amends for the many superstitions of another kind, which the mixing Philosophy with Religion introduced into the practice of the Law: superstitions which depraved, and at length totally destroyed the noble simplicity of its nature and genius.—But I anticipate a subject for which I shall find a much fitter place.

At length then we see, that the Law of Moses was, indeed, such a one as his Lordship would require in a LAW OF DIVINE ORIGINAL, namely, that *it produced its effect*, if not by a *physical* necessity which bears down all obstruction before it, yet by a *moral*, which constantly kept operating when no foreign impediment stood in the way! So false is his Lordship's assertions, that *the* WHOLE *history of this people is one continued series of infractions of the Law*. If, by the *whole*, he means (as his argument requires he should mean) the whole both of their sacred and merely civil history; and, by *one continued series of infractions of the Law*, their lapses into Idolatry; it is the grossest misrepresentation: the far greater part of their duration as a distinct People was free from idolatry; and an authentic account of this freedom is recorded in their Annals. But if by *their whole history*, he means (as his cause might necessitate him to mean) only the sacred books; and, by *their infraction of the Law*, only transgressions in lesser matters, it is illusory and impertinent.

2. We have seen the force of his Lordship's conclusion from the circumstance—*of infinite Wisdom's framing the Law:* We come next to the other circumstance, from which he deduceth the same conclusion, namely, *infinite Power's administering the Law.*

" Let

" Let it be remembered (says his Lordship) that " GOD himself is said to have been their King during " several ages; that his presence remained amongst " them, even after they had deposed him; and that " the High Priest consulted him, on any emergency, " by the Urim and Thummim. OCCASIONAL MI- " RACLES were wrought to inforce the Law; but this " was a standing miracle, that might serve both to " explain and inforce it, by the wisdom and authority " of the Legislator, as often as immediate recourse to " him was necessary. *Can it be denied that the most " imperfect system of human Laws would have been " rendered effectual by such means as these?*"

This bad reasoning seems to be urged with much good faith, contrary to his Lordship's usual custom; and arises from his ignorance of a *Theocratic* administration, as the nature of the administration may be collected from the common principles of the Law of Nature and Nations.

Let us consider the affair dispassionately. God, in giving laws to his chosen people, was pleased, *more humano*, to assume the title of King, and to administer their civil affairs by a *Theocratic* mode of Government. Every step in this establishment evinces, that it was his purpose to interfere no otherwise than in conformity to that political assumption. He proceeded on the most equitable grounds of civil Government: he became their *King* by free choice. It must needs therefore be his purpose to confine himself to such *powers of legislation*, as human Governors are able to exert; though he extended the *powers of administration* far beyond the limits of humanity. His Lordship's ignorance of so reasonable a distinction occasioned all this pompous Fallacy. He found in the Mosaic Dispensation OCCASIONAL MIRACLES pretended: and he

imagined that, consistently with this pretence, *Miracles* ought to operate throughout, rather than that the *end* of the Law should be defeated. But, I presume, GOD could not, conformably to his purpose of erecting a THEOCRACY, and administering it MORE HUMANO, exert miraculous powers in *legislating*, though he very well might, and actually did exert them, in *governing*: because, in legislation, a *miracle*, that is, a supernatural force added to the Laws, to make them constantly obeyed, could not be employed without putting a force upon the Will; by which God's Laws would indeed *produce their effect*, but it would be by the destruction of the subject of them. The case was different in administering the Laws made: here God was to act *miraculously*; often out of wise choice, to manifest the nature of the Government, and the reality of his *regal* character; sometimes out of necessity, for the carrying on of that Government on the Sanctions by which it was to be dispensed: and all this he might do without the least force upon the Will.

This is sufficient to expose the futility of his Lordship's conclusion from the circumstance of *infinite Power's administering the Law*; it being essential to the Law, that *infinite Power administering it*, should restrain itself within such bounds as left the will perfectly free. But *infinite Power*, restrained within such bounds, might sometimes meet with unsurmountable obstructions in the course of its direction, under a Theocracy administered *more humano*.

II. We have seen how weak his Lordship's reasoning is in itself: Let us now see how much weaker he makes it by ill management; till at length it comes out a good argument against his own objection.

" The Law of Moses (says his Lordship) was so " far from prevailing over accidents and conjunctures, " that

" that the least was sufficient to interrupt the course " and defeat the design of it, to make that people not " only neglect the Law, BUT CEASE TO ACKNOW- " LEDGE THE LEGISLATOR. To prevent this, was " the *first of these designs:* and if the *second* was (as " it was, no doubt) and as it is the design or pretence " of all Laws, to secure the happiness of the people, " THIS DESIGN WAS DEFEATED AS FULLY AS THE " OTHER: for the whole history of this people is one " continued series of INFRACTIONS OF THE LAW, " AND OF NATIONAL CALAMITIES."

To pass by that vulgar mistake (which has been sufficiently exposed above) that the Jews *ever ceased to acknowledge their Legislator*; let me observe it to his Lordship's credit, that he appears to have understood so much at least of the Mosaic Institution, as to see that the *first end* of it was peculiar to itself; and that that which is common to all civil Communities was but the *second end* of This.

But is it not strange, when he saw so far into the nature of the Jewish Constitution, that he should not see that this *second end* was entirely dependent on what he himself makes the principal; namely, to preserve the Israelites from idolatry; but should argue against the divinity of the Law, as if these ends were independent one of another; and that one might be obtained without the other? For, to aggravate the imbecility of the Law, he informs us in the passage last quoted, " that it was not only unable to gain its first end, but its second likewise: *that the one design was defeated as fully as the other*; that the people were not only idolaters in spiritual matters, but poor, miserable, and calamitous in their civil interests." Strange! that he could not see, or would not acknowledge, that the LAW denounces their happiness and misery as

citizens,

citizens, in exact proportion to their adherence to, or their defection from, that Law; when he saw and confessed (what their HISTORY records), that this was their invariable fortune. *The whole history of this people* (says his Lordship) *is one continued series of infractions of the Law, and of national calamities.* Now if the whole frame of the Mosaic Law was so composed, as to do that by *positive* institute which the Moral Law does by *natural*, viz. reward the obedient, and punish the disobedient (and it certainly was so composed, if a *continued series of infractions* was followed by a *continued series of calamities*), we must needs conclude that we have here the strongest proof of that divine Wisdom in the Constitution, which this great modern Lawgiver pretends to seek, but assures us he is not able to find; and yet, at the same time, brings this convincing circumstance of the *truth* of the LAW;—*This design* (says he) *was defeated as fully as the other.* Here his rhetoric, as usual, got the better of his reasoning: Not content to say,—*the whole history of this People is one continued series of infractions of the Law*,—he will needs add by way of exaggeration—AND OF NATIONAL CALAMITIES. Which has so perverse an influence on the argument as to undo all he had been labouring to bring about, by discovering a connexion between *infractions* and *calamities*, which has all the marks of a divine contrivance.

Had it been the declared design of their Lawgiver to *separate* the two ends, and to form such an economy as that the People under it might be flourishing in peace and affluence, while they were Idolaters in Religion; or, on the other hand, true Worshippers, and at the same time calamitous Citizens; then to find them neither religious nor prosperous, under a Law which

which pretended to procure truth without temporal felicity, or to establish peace and prosperity in the midst of error; this indeed (without taking in the perversity of such a System) would have fully discredited the pretended original. But when, in this Law, truth and happiness, error and misery, are declared to have an inseparable connexion; the freethinking Politician, who shews from history that this connexion was constant and invariable, is intrapped by the retortion of nature and reason, to prove against himself the Divinity of that Institute he labours to discredit.

Still further: When, on reading the history of this extraordinary People, we find (as Josephus well expresses it) that, *in proportion to the neglect of the Law, easy things became unsurmountable, and all their undertakings, how just soever, ended in incurable calamities**, we cannot but acknowledge the divine direction in every stage of such a Dispensation. For, to comprehend the whole of the Historian's meaning, we must remember, that there were some Laws given purposely to manifest the divinity of their original: such as that *against multiplying horses*; which, when it was transgressed, *easy things became unsurmountable*; and that which most facilitates a victory, a strong body of Cavalry intermixed with Foot, proved amongst the Israelites a certain means of their defeat. So again, when they transgressed the Law which commanded *all the males to go annually to the temple*, the historian tells us, *their most just undertakings ended in incurable calamities*; and sure nothing could be more *just* than to defend their borders from invaders; yet they were sure to be most infested with them when

* — καθ' ὅσον δ' ἂν ἀποχῶσι τῆς τέτων ἀκριβοῦς ἐπιμελείας, ἄπορα μὲν γίνεται τὰ πόριμα, τρέπεται δ' εἰς συμφορὰς ἀηκέστες, ὅ, τι ποτ' ἂν ὡς ἀγαθὸν δρᾶν σπεδάσωσιν. Antiq. v. i. p. 4.

they

they thought themselves best secured: that is, while their males were at home, when they should have been worshipping at the Temple.

III. But it is now time to come a little closer to his Lordship. He has been all along arguing on a FALSE FACT, which his ignorance of the nature of the Jewish Separation hindered him from seeing.

He understood, indeed, that this extraordinary economy had, for its *primary end*, something very different from all other civil Policies; and that that which was the first (indeed the only end) in others, was but the secondary end in this. Yet this primary end he saw so obscurely, as not to be able to make it out. He supposed it was *to keep the Israelites from idolatry*; whereas it was TO PRESERVE THE MEMORY OF THE ONE GOD IN AN IDOLATROUS WORLD, till the coming of Christ: To *keep the Israelites from idolatry*, was but the *mean* to this *end*. Thus has our political Architect "mistaken the scaffold for the pile," as his harmonious friend expresses it. And the mistake is the more gross, as the notion of the ultimate end's being to *keep the Israelities from idolatry*, is founded in that vain fancy of Jewish pride, that their Fathers were selected as the favourites of God, out of his fondness for the race of Abraham.

Under this rectified idea therefore let us consider the truth of his Lordship's assertion, *That no Law ever operated so weak and uncertain an effect as the Law of Moses did: far from prevailing against accidents and conjunctures, the least was sufficient to interrupt the course, and to defeat the designs of it.*

Now if we keep the true end of the Law in view, we shall see, on the contrary, that it prevailed constantly and uniformly, without the least interruption, against the most violent *accidents*, and in the most unfavourable

unfavourable *conjunctures*; those I mean, which happened when their propensity to the practice of idolatry, and their prejudice for the *principle of intercommunity*, were at the height: for amidst all the disorders consequent thereto, they still preserved the knowledge of the true God, and performed the Rites ordained by the Law. And the very calamities which followed the infraction of the Law, of which the neighbouring Nations occasionally partook, were sufficient to alarm these latter, when most at ease, amidst the imaginary protection of their tutelary Gods, and to awaken them to the awful sense of a BEING different, as well as superior to their *National Protectors*. Which shews, that the Law still *operated its effect*, strongly and constantly; and still *prevailed against accidents and conjunctures*, which it *governed and directed*, instead of *lying at the mercy of them*. But as it is very probable that the frequent transgressions, which those *accidents and conjunctures* occasioned, would in time have defeated the end of the Law, the transgressors were punished by a seventy-years-captivity: the extraordinary circumstances of which made such an impression on their haughty masters, as brought them to confess that the *God of Israel* was the *true God*; and was so severely felt by them, that they had an utter aversion and abhorrence of Idolatry, or the worship of false Gods, ever after. So that from thence to the coming of Christ, a course of many ages, they adhered, though tributary and persecuted, and (what has still greater force than Persecution, if not thoroughly administered) despised and ridiculed by the two greatest Empires of the world, the Greek and Roman; and though surrounded with the pomp and splendor of Pagan idolatries, recommended by the fashion of Courts, and the plausible glosses of Philosophers, they

adhered,

adhered, I say strictly, and even superstitiously, to the letter of that Law, which allowed of no other Gods besides the God of Israel. Now if this was not *gaining its end*, we must seek for other modes of speech, and other conceptions of things, when we reason upon Government and Laws.

Yet this was not all. For the LAW not only gained its end, in delivering down the Religion of the TRUE GOD into the hands of the REDEEMER OF MANKIND; who soon spread it throughout the whole Roman Empire; but even after it had done its destined work, the vigour of the Mosaic Revelation still working at the root, enabled a bold Impostor to extend the principle of the UNITY still wider, till it had embraced the remotest regions of the habitable World: So that, at this day, almost all the Natives of the vast regions of higher Asia, whether Gentiles, Christians, or Mahometans, are the professed worshippers of the ONE ONLY GOD. How much the extension of the principle of the *Unity* has been owing to this Cause, under the permission and direction of that Providence, which is ever producing *good out of evil*, is known to all who are acquainted with the present state of the Eastern world.

The reason why I ascribe so much of this good, to the lasting efficacy of the Mosaic Law, is this: Mahomet was born and brought up an Idolater, and inhabited an idolatrous Country; so that had he seen no more of true Religion than in the superstitious practice of the Greek Church, at that time overrun with saint and image-worship, it is odds but that, when he set up for a Prophet, he might have made Idolatry the basis of his new Religion: But getting acquainted with the Jews and their Scriptures, he came to understand the folly of Gentilism and the corruptions of

Christianity; and by this means was enabled to preach up the doctrine of the ONE GOD, in its purity and integrity. It is again remarkable, that to guard and secure this doctrine, which He made the fundamental principle of Ishmaelitism, he brought into his Imposture many of those provisions which Moses had put in practice to prevent the contagion of idolatry.

But the great Man with whom we have to do, is so secure of his fact, namely, that *the Law was perpetually defeated, and never gained its end*, that he supposes his Adversaries, the DIVINES, are ready to confess it; and will only endeavour to elude his inference by throwing the ill success of its operations on the *hardness of the People's hearts and the impiety of their Governors**. And this affords him fresh occasion of triumph.

I will not be positive that this species of Divines is intirely of his own invention, and that this their apology for Moses is altogether as imaginary as their famous CONFEDERACY † against God; because I know by experience that there are of these Divines, who, in support of their passions and prejudices, are always ready (as I have amply experienced) to admit what Scripture opposes, and to oppose what it admits, in almost every page. But the best Apologies of such men are never worth a defence, and indeed are rarely capable of any.

To conclude: Such as these here exposed, are all the reasonings of his Lordship's bulky volumes: And no wonder; when a writer, however able in other matters, will needs dictate in a Science of which he did not possess so much as the first principles.

* Pages 293, 4. † Vol. V. p. 305—307. 393.

SECT. III.

HAVING thus shewn the nature of this THEOCRACY, and the attendant circumstances of its erection; our next enquiry will be concerning its DURATION.

Most writers suppose it to have ended with the JUDGES; but scarce any bring it lower than the CAPTIVITY. On the contrary, I hold that, in strict truth and propriety, it ended not 'till the coming of CHRIST.

I. That it ended not with the Judges, appears evident, for these reasons:

1. Though indeed the People's purpose, in their clamours for a King, was to live under a Gentile Monarchy, like their idolatrous neighbours (for so it is represented by God himself, in his reproof of their impiety*); yet in compassion to their blindness, he, in this instance, as in many others, indulged their prejudices, without exposing them to the fatal consequence of their project: which, if complied with, in the sense they formed it, had been the withdrawing of his *extraordinary protection* from them, at a time when they could not support themselves without it. He therefore gave them a *King*; but such an one as was only his VICEROY or Deputy; and who, on that account, was not left to the People's election, as he left his own Regality; but was chosen by himself: the only difference between God's appointment of the Judges and of Saul being this, that They were chosen by internal impulse; He, by Lots, or external designation.

2. This King had an unlimited *executive* power; as God's Viceroy must needs have.

* 1 Sam. viii. 7.

3. He had no *legislative* power: which a Viceroy could not possibly have.

4. He was placed and displaced by God at pleasure: of which, as Viceroy, we see the perfect fitness; but as Sovereign by the people's choice, one cannot easily account for; because God did not chuse to supersede the natural Rights of his People, as appears by his leaving it, at first, to their own option whether they would have God himself for their King.

5. The very same punishment was ordained for cursing the King as for blaspheming God, namely, stoning to death; and the reason is intimated in these words of Abishai to David, *Shall not Shimei be put to death for this, because he cursed the* LORD'S ANOINTED *? This was the common title of the Kings of Israel and Judah, and plainly denoted their office of Viceroyalty. Improperly, and superstitiously transferred, in these later ages, to Christian Kings and Princes.

From this further circumstance, a *Viceroyalty* is necessarily inferred: The throne and kingdom of Judea is all along expressly declared to be God's throne and God's kingdom. Thus, in the first book of Chronicles, it is said that *Solomon sat on the* THRONE OF THE LORD, *as King, instead of David his father* †. And the queen of Sheba, who visited Solomon, to be instructed in his wisdom, and doubtless had been informed by Him of the true nature of his kingdom, compliments him in these words: *Blessed be the Lord thy God, which delighted in thee to set thee on* HIS THRONE, TO BE KING FOR THE LORD THY GOD ‡. In like manner Abijah speaks to the house of Israel, on their defection from Rehoboam: *And now ye think to withstand the* KINGDOM OF THE LORD *in the hands of the*

* 2 Sam. xix. 21. † Chap. xxix. ver. 23. ‡ 2 Chron. ix. 8.

sons

*sons of David**. And to the same purpose, Nehemiah: *Neither have our kings, our princes, our priests, nor our fathers, kept thy law, nor hearkened unto thy commandments, and thy testimonies, wherewith thou didst testify against them. For they have not served thee in* THEIR KINGDOM†. The sense, I think, requires that the Septuagint reading should be here preferred, which says EN BAΣIΛEIA ΣOY, IN THY KINGDOM. And this the Syriac and Arabic versions follow. As Judea is always called *his kingdom*, so he is always called the *King of the Jews*. Thus the Psalmist: *Thine Altars, O Lord of Hosts, my* KING, *and my God*‡. And again: *Let* Israel *rejoice in him that made him: let the children of* Zion *be joyful in their* KING§. *And* thus the Prophet Jeremiah: *The* KING, *whose name is the Lord of Hosts*‖.

7. The penal Laws against idolatry were still in force during their Kings, and put in execution by their best rulers, and even by men inspired. Which, alone, is a demonstration of the subsistence of the THEOCRACY; because such laws are absolutely unjust under every other form of Government.

As to the title of *King* given to these Rulers, this will have small weight with those who reflect that Moses likewise, who was surely no more than God's deputy, is called King: *Moses commanded us a Law; even the inheritance of the congregation of Jacob. And he was* KING *in Jeshurun, when the heads of the people, and the tribes of Israel, were gathered together*¶.

Let us now see what the celebrated M. Le Clerc says in defence of the contrary opinion, which supposeth the THEOCRACY to have ended with the Judges.

* 2 Chron. xiii. 8. † Ch. ix. 34, 35. ‡ Psalm lxxxiv. 3.
§ Psalm cxlix. 2. ‖ Ch. li. 57. ¶ Deut. xxxiii. 4 & 5.

Father Simon of the Oratory had said, that *the republic of the Hebrews never acknowledged any other* CHIEF *than God alone, who continued to govern in that quality even during the time in which it was subject to Kings* *. This was enough to make his learned adversary take the other side of the question; who being piqued at Simon's contemptuous slight of his offered assistance in the project for a new Polyglott, revenged himself upon him in those licentious † Letters, intitled, *Sentimens de quelques Theologiens de Hollande*, where his only business is to pick a quarrel. He therefore maintains against Simon, *That the theocracy ceased on establishing the throne in the race of David* ‡. What he hath of argument to support this opinion is but little; and may be summed up in the following observation, *That God did not* PERSONALLY *interfere with his directions, nor discharge the functions of a Magistrate after the establishment of the Kings as he had done before* §. But this, instead of proving the abolition of the *Theocracy*, only shews that it was

* La Republique des Hebreux differe en cela de tous les autres états du monde, qu'elle n'a jamais reconnu pour chef que Dieu seul, qui a continué de la gouverner en cette qualité dans les tems mêmes, qu'elle a été soûmise à des rois. Histoire Crit. de Vieux Test. p. 15. Ed. Rotterd. 1685.

† See note [G] at the end of this Book.

‡ Il paroit au contraire par l'Ecriture, que Dieu n'a gouverné la republique des Hebreux, en qualité de chef politique, que pendant qu'ils n'avoient point des rois, & peut-être au commencement que le rois furent etablis, avant que la famille de David fut affermie sur le trône de Israel. Sentimens, &c. p. 78.

§ —Pendant tout ce temps-la, Dieu fit les fonctions de roi, Il jugeoit des affaires—il repondoit par l'oracle—il regloit la marche de l'armée—il envoyoit même quelquefois un ange—On n'étoit obligé d'obeïr aveuglement, qu'aux seuls ordres de Dieu. Mais lors qu'il y eut des rois en Israël, & que le royaume fut attaché à la famille de David, les rois furent maîtres absolus, & Dieu cessa de faire leurs fonctions. pp. 78, 79.

administered by a *Viceroy*. For in what consists the office of a Viceroy but to discharge the functions of his Principal? He had been a cipher, had God still governed *immediately*, as before. Mr. Le Clerc could see that God acted *by the ministry of the Judges* *. If then the Theocratic function could be discharged by deputation, why might it not be done by Kings as well as Judges? The difference, if any, is only from less to more, and from occasional to constant. No, says our Critic, the cession was in consequence of his own declaration to Samuel: *For they have not rejected thee, but they have* REJECTED ME, *that I should not reign over them* †. This only declares the sense God had of their mutinous request; but does not at all imply that he gave way to it. For who, from the like words (which express so natural a resentment of an open defection) would infer in the case of any other monarch, that he thereupon stepped down from his throne, and suffered an usurper to seize his place? This, we see, was poor reasoning. But, luckily for his reputation, he had an Adversary who reasoned worse.—However, Simon saw thus much into Le Clerc's cavil, as to reply, *That all he had said was quite beside the purpose, for that the thing to be proved was, that, after the establishment of the Kings, God was no longer the civil Chief* ‡. On

* —au lieu qu'auparavant Dieu lui-même la faisoit, *par le ministere des Juges*, qu'il suscitoit de temps en temps au milieu d'Israël. Def. des Sent. p. 121.

† —C'est pour cela que Dieu dit à Samuel, lors qu' Israël voulut avoir *un roi pour le juger à la maniére de toutes les nations: ce n'est pas toi qu'ils ont rejetté, mais moi, afin que je ne regne point sur eux.* 1 Sam. viii. 7.

‡ Je passe sous silence le long discours de Mr. le Clerc touchant le pouvoir de Dieu sur les Israëlites avant l'etablissement des rois, d'où il pretend prouver que Dieu pendant tout ce temps-la fit la fonction de roi. Tout cela est hors de propos, puis qu'il s'agit de

On which Le Clerc thus insults him: *As much as to say, that in order to prove God was no longer Chief of the Hebrews after the election of a King, it is beside the purpose to shew, he never afterwards discharged the functions of a Chief of the republic. It is thus this great Genius happily unravels matters, and discovers, in an instant, what is, and what is not to the purpose* *. Whether Simon indeed knew *why* Le Clerc's objection was nothing to the purpose, is to be left to God and his own conscience, for he gives us no reasons for the censure he passes on it: but that it was indeed nothing to the purpose, is most evident, if this proposition be true, "That a King does not cease "to be King, when he puts in a Viceroy, who executes "the regal office by deputation."

Le Clerc returns to the charge in his *Defence of the Sentiments*:— "The Israelites did not reject God as "Protector, but as civil Chief, as I observed before. "They would have a King who should determine "sovereignly, and command their armies. Which, "before this, God himself did by the ministry of the "Judges, whom he raised up, from time to time, from "the midst of Israel. In this sense we must under-"stand absolutely the words of God, in Samuel, *that "I should not reign over them* †." It is indeed strange, that,

prouver, qu'apres ces temps la Dieu n'a plus été leur chef: & c'est ce qu'on ne prouvera jamais. Reponse aux Sentimens de quelques Theol. de Hol. p. 55.

* —C'est à dire, que pour prouver que Dieu n'a pas été chef des Hebreux, après l'election des rois, il est hors de propos de prouver qu'il n'a plus fait les fonctions de chef de la republique. C'est ainsi que ce grand genie debrouille heureusement les matieres, & découvre d'abord ce qui est hors de propos, de ce qui ne l'est pas. Defens. des Sentimens, p. 120.

† Les Israëlites ne rejetterent pas Dieu comme protecteur, mais comme chef politique, ainsi que je l'ai marqué. Ils voulurent un

that, after writing two books, he should still insist on so foolish a paralogism*, That God's *giving up* his office of civil Chief, was a necessary consequence of the People's *demanding* it. For, that they did demand it, I acknowledge. Let us consider then this whole matter a little more attentively.

Samuel (and I desire the Deists would take notice of it) had now, by a wise and painful direction of affairs, restored the purity of Religion, and rescued his Nation from the power of the Philistines, and their other hostile neighbours; against whom they were utterly unable to make head when he entered upon the public Administration. At this very time, the People, debauched, as usual, by power and prosperity, took the pretence of the corrupt conduct of the Prophet's two sons †, to go in a tumultuary manner, and demand a King. But the secret spring of their rebellion was the ambition of their leaders; who could live no longer without the splendour of a regal Court and Houshold; GIVE ME (say they, as the Prophet Hosea interprets their insolent *demand*) A KING AND PRINCES ‡; where every one of them might shine a distinguished Officer of State. They could get nothing when their affairs led them to their Judges' poor residence, in the *Schools of the Prophets*, but the GIFT *of the Holy Spirit* §; which a Courtier, I presume, would not prize even at the rate Simon Magus held it, of a paltry piece of money.

un roi qui les jugeât souverainement, & qui commançât leurs armées, au lieu qu'auparavant Dieu lui-même le faisoit, par le ministere des juges, qu'il suscitoit de temps en temps au milieu d'Israël. — En ce sens il faut entendre absolument les paroles de Dieu dans Samuël, *afin que je ne regne point sur eux*, p. 121.

* However, foolish as it is, the Reader hath seen, how a late Sermonizer has borrowed it, and how little force he has added to it.

† 1 Sam. viii. 5. and xii. 12. ‡ Chap. xiii. ver. 10,

§ Chap. x. 10. and chap. xix.

money.—This it was, and this only, that made their demand criminal. For the chusing Regal rather than Aristocratic Viceroys was a thing plainly indulged to them by the Law of Moses, in the following admonition: *When thou art come into the land which the Lord thy God giveth thee, and shalt possess it, and shalt dwell therein, and shalt say, I will set a* KING *over me, like as the nations that are about me; Thou shalt in any wise set him King over thee, whom the* LORD THY GOD SHALL CHUSE: *one from amongst thy Brethren shalt thou set King over thee: Thou mayest not set a Stranger over thee, which is not thy brother**. The plain meaning of which caution is, that they should take care, when they demanded a King, that they thought of none other than such a King who was to be GOD's DEPUTY. As therefore Court-ambition only was in the wicked view of the Ringleaders of these malecontents, and no foolish fears for the State, or hopes of bettering the public Administration; it is evident to all acquainted with the genius of this Time and People, that compliance with their demand must have ended in the utter destruction of the Mosaic RELIGION as well as LAW. But it was GOD's purpose to keep them SEPARATE, in order to preserve the memory of himself amidst an idolatrous World. And this not being to be done but by the preservation of their Religion and Law, we must needs conclude that he would not give way to their rebellious demand.

And what we are brought to conclude from the *reason of the thing*, the *history* of this transaction clearly enough confirms. For it having now informed us how GOD consented to give this People a King; To shew us, that he had not cast off the Government, but only transferred the immediate Administration to

* Deut. xvii. 14, 15.

a Deputy,

a Deputy, and consequently that *their* King was *his* Viceroy; it tells us next, how He was pleased to bring them to repentance in an extraordinary way; the gracious method he commonly employed when he intended to pardon. Samuel assembled the People *; and to convince them of their crime in demanding a King, called down the present vengeance of their offended GOD in a storm of *thunder and rain at the time of wheat-harvest* †. This sudden desolation brings them to a sense of their guilt, and they implore mercy and forgiveness: "And all the People said "unto Samuel, Pray for thy servants unto the Lord "thy God, that we die not: for we have added unto "all our sins this evil, to ask us a King. And Samuel "said unto the People, Fear not; (ye have done all "this wickedness: yet turn not aside from following "the Lord, but serve the Lord with all your heart; "and turn ye not aside: for then should you go after "vain things which cannot profit nor deliver; for they "are vain:) For the Lord will *not forsake his People* "for his great Name's sake: because it hath pleased "the Lord to *make you his People* ‡." Here, we see, they repent, are pardoned, and received again into Grace, as appears by the concluding promise, that the *Theocratic* form should be continued. They are ready to give up their King, and yet a regal character is instituted. The plain conclusion from all this is, that their King was given, and, now at least, received as GOD'S DEPUTY.

But Father Simon is at length provoked into a Reason, and that, to say the truth, no weak one. God, he observes, kept the election of their King in his own hands §.

* 1 Sam. xii. † Chap. xii. 17, 18. ‡ 1 Sam. xii. 19. & seq.

§ Et une preuve même qu'il ne cessoit pas d'être leur chef par cette election, c'est qu'il s'en rend le maître. Reponse aux Sentimens, p. 55.

But

But *this*, Le Clerc says, *proves nothing*. How so? *Because, according to this reasoning, we should be obliged to say that God oftener discharged the functions of Civil chief in the idolatrous realm of the ten Tribes than in that of Judah: for* that *was elective*, this, *hereditary**. And what if we do? Where will be the harm of it? The two kingdoms made up but one Commonwealth; of which God, as Head, governed by two Viceroys. And if he oftener acted immediately in the kingdom of Israel, there was a plain reason for it; Its inhabitants were more given to idolatrous worship; and needed more the frequency of an extraordinary restraint. And, in effect, we find he did interfere greatly in other instances, as well as in the election of their Kings.

In truth, F. Simon seemed to see as little into the force of the observation *(that God reserved the choice of their King to himself)* when he urged it, as M. Le Clerc did, when he despised it: yet it is strongly conclusive for the continuation of the Theocracy. For had the visible King which the Israelites demanded been granted to them, that is, a King in his own right, sovereign, and at the head of a new Constitution, or indeed, any other than a Viceroy to the KING of the Theocracy, the choice of him would have been reserved to the People. It was a natural right; and more than that, a right which God did not think fit to

* Pour ce que dit M. Simon, que Dieu *se rend maitre de l'election des Rois*. il ne s'ensuit nullement qu'il continuât d'être pour cela chef politique de la republique d'Israël; puisque si cela étoit, il faudroit dire que Dieu faisoit beaucoup plus souvent les fonctions de chef de l'etat dans le royaume Idolatre des dix tribes, que dans celui de Juda. Car ce derniere royaume étoit hereditaire, & étoit possedé par la maison de David, sans qu'il fut besoin d'aucune election, au lieu qu'il le fit plusieurs elections dans celui des dix tribes. Defense des Sentimens, pp. 121, 122.

take

take from them, when he first accepted the regal office for himself. But if the People have, by natural Law, a right to chuse their own King, that King hath, by civil Law, a prerogative to chuse his own Deputy. When we see him therefore exercise this prerogative, we may be assured that the King chosen was no other than his Deputy, as SOVEREIGN of the Theocracy. But to return to the two Combatants.—Here the Dispute ended; and for farther satisfaction, Le Clerc refers us to a book of Spencer's, written professedly upon this very subject*. It is his tract *De Theocratia Judaica*. What is to be found there, besides the arguments which Le Clerc has borrowed from it, and which have been considered already, I shall now with some reluctance inform the Reader.

This treatise is by no means in the number of those on which Spencer raised his reputation. He goes on a wrong hypothesis; he uses weak arguments; and he is confused and inconsistent in his assertions.

1. He thinks the Theocracy was established by degrees†, and abrogated by degrees‡. A conceit highly absurd, as GOD was the Lawgiver, and Supreme Magistrate of the Jews.—He thinks the first step to its introduction was their protection at the Red Sea§;

and

* Il n'est pas necessaire que je m'arrête d'avantage à cela, après ce qu'en a dit le savant *Spencer* dans un traité qu'il a fait expres sur cette matiere. Lib. i. de Legg. Heb. Rit. Def. des Sent. p. 122.

† — Neminem in sacris literis vel mediocriter versatum latere potest *Theocratiam* in ipso rerum Israelticarum exordio aliquatenus obtinuisse, ad ἀκμὴν autem non nisi gradatim & post legem in Sinai datam pervenisse. Vol. I. p. 239.

‡ Cum autem regiminis hujus, non simul & semel, sed per gradus quosdam, jacturam fecerint, placet hic veritatis fugientis vestigia gradatim premere. Id. ib.

§ Gradum primum ad potestatem regiam obtinendam fecisse videtur Deus, cum gentem Israelticam insigni illo potentiæ & bonitatis

and the first step to its abolition, their demand of a King*: That it was still more impaired when Saul and David got possession of the throne†: That it approached much nearer to its end when it became hereditary, under Salomon‡: and yet, for all this, he confesses that some obscure footsteps of it remained even to the time of CHRIST§.

2. In his reasoning for the abolition of the THEOCRACY, instead of employing the general principles of civil Policy, which were the only means of coming to the truth, he insists much on the disuse of Urim and Thummim, &c. which Le Clerc borrowed from him; and which hath been already considered. He brings the despotic power of the Kings‖, as another argument; which, I think, proves just the contrary. For if so be, that these Kings were the Viceroys of God, whose power was despotic, their power must be despotic too, i. e. independent on all but the SOVEREIGN. Not so, if they were Monarchs in their own right.

3. Though, as we observed, Spencer, in the second section of his fourth chapter, supposes a gradual decay of the Theocracy; and that even some obscure footsteps

bonitatis suæ documento (Ægyptiorum in Mari Rubro submersione) sibi devinxisset. Id. ib.

* Primo itaque ad certum affirmo, quod Israelitæ, regem sibi dari postulantes, gradum primum ad imperii hujus desideratissimi ruinam fecisse videantur. Id. ib.

† Dei regimen multo magis imminutum est, cum Deus *Saulem* & *Davidem* ad rerum arbitrium evocasset. p. 240.

‡ Salomone rerum potito, Theocratia multo vicinior ἀφανισμῷ non immerito censeatur.

§ Judæi Theocratiæ veteris indicia & vestigia quædam obscuriora, ad extrema usque politiæ suæ tempora retinuere—ipso Domini nostri seculo, Hierosolyma *civitas magni regis* audiit. Ib.

‖ — adeo ut hinc constet, eos se pro regibus gessisse, & potestatem arbitrariam exercuisse. Ib.

steps of it remained to the time of CHRIST; yet, in the following section, he, all the way, argues upon the supposition of an absolute and entire abrogation * by the establishment of the Kings †.—To proceed.

II. That this Theocracy, the administration of which lay, as it were, in abeyance during the Captivity, was again exercised after the return from it, is evident from the express declaration of the Almighty, by the Prophet Haggai: *Yet now be strong, O Zerubbabel, saith the Lord; and be strong, O Joshua, Son of Josedech the High Priest; and be strong, all ye People of the Land, saith the Lord, and work: for I am with you, saith the Lord of Hosts:* ACCORDING TO THE WORD THAT I COVENANTED WITH YOU, WHEN YOU CAME OUT OF EGYPT, SO MY SPIRIT REMAINETH AMONGST YOU: *fear ye not* ‡. What was that *Covenant?* That Israel should be his People, and He, their God and *King*. Therefore it cannot barely mean, that he would be their God, and they should be his People; for this was but *part* of the *Covenant*. Nor can it mean that they should be conducted by an extraordinary providence, as at their coming out of Egypt, and during the first periods of the Theocracy; for this was but *the effects* of the *Covenant*: and besides, we know that that dispensation of Providence soon ceased after the Re-establishment. The meaning therefore must be, that he would still continue their KING as well as God. Yet at the same time, when this Theocracy was restored, it was both fit, on account of its own dignity, and necessary for the People's assurance, that it should be attended

* — Regiminis hujus mutati vel abrogati causa principalis— De regiminis hujus abrogati effectu vel eventu brevitèr disserendum est—&c. pp. 241—243.

† See note [H] at the end of this Book.

‡ Chap. ii. ver. 4, 5.

with

with some unusual display of divine favour. Accordingly, Prophets were raised up: and an extraordinary Providence for some short time administered, as appears from many places in those Prophets*.

III. That the Theocracy continued even to the coming of CHRIST, may be seen from hence—

1. Whenever it was abrogated, it must needs be done in the same solemn manner in which it was established; so that the one might be as well known as the other: because it was of the highest importance to a people so strictly bound to obedience, not to be mistaken concerning the power under which they lived. Natural equity requires this formality as a necessary concomitant in the imposing and abrogating of all civil laws and institutions whatsoever. Now the Theocracy having never been thus abolished till the coming of Christ, we conclude that it continued to subsist till that time.

2. Nor indeed, could it have been abolished without dissolving the whole frame of the Republic; since all the Laws of it, whether as to their equity, force, or fitness, as well as the whole Ritual of Worship, respected, and referred to God as civil Governor. But neither by the declaration of any Prophet, nor by the act of any good King, did the Institution suffer the least change in any of its parts, from the time of its establishment by Moses to its dissolution by JESUS CHRIST, either by addition, correction, or abrogation. Consequently, the *Theocracy* was existing throughout that whole period: Nothing being more absurd than to suppose that national Laws, all made in reference to the form of Government, should remain invariable, while the Government itself was changed. For, what

* Hag. i. 6 — 11. Chap. ii. ver. 16 — 19. Zech. viii. 12. Mal. iii. 10, 11.

the

the Author of the Epistle to the Hebrews says of the PRIEST (in a Constitution where the two Societies were incorporated) must be equally true of the KING. —THE PRIESTHOOD BEING CHANGED, THERE IS MADE ALSO, OF NECESSITY, A CHANGE OF THE LAW *. And now it was that JESUS, the MESSIAH, who is here spoken of as making this change, in quality of PRIEST, made it likewise in quality of KING. For, as we learn from the history of his Ministry, he came as Heir of GOD, to succeed immediately without any interregnum, in his Father's kingdom: GOD having DELIVERED UP to his Son the kingdom, of which the Father was, till then, in possession. And this change in the Government, from the *temporal Theocracy* of GOD the Father, to the *spiritual Kingdom* of GOD the Son, was made in the same solemn and authentic manner in which that Theocracy was introduced. GOD raised up from amongst his chosen People, a *Prophet like unto Moses*, who exercised the *Legislative* power, like Moses; and assumed the *Regal* power, like GOD. He gave a NEW LAW to be administered in a NEW KINGDOM, and confirmed the divinity of the Dispensation by the most stupendous miracles. Thus, we find, the Theocracy did indeed subsist till the coming of Christ.

And this ABOLITION of it by the Son of GOD, I take to be the true completion of that famous PROPHECY of Jacob, of which so much hath been written and disputed. THE SCEPTRE SHALL NOT DEPART FROM JUDAH, NOR A LAWGIVER FROM BETWEEN HIS FEET, UNTIL SHILOH COME †, i.e. the THEOCRACY shall continue over the Jews ‡ until Christ

* Chap. vii. ver. 12. † Gen. xlix. 10.

‡ Who took their Name from the Tribe of *Judah*; the rest being incorporated in that Tribe, or extinguished in Captivity.

come to take possession of his Father's Kingdom: For there was never any *Lawgiver* *, in *Judah*, but GOD by the ministry of Moses, until the coming of his SON.

JESUS the MESSIAH, the best interpreter of the Oracles of GOD, of which he himself is the capital subject, and for whose sake the *chain of prophecies* was so early drawn out, and exended to such a length, seems to have paraphrased and explained the words of Jacob concerning the *departure of the Sceptre from Judah*, by his declaration recorded in St. Matthew, THE PROPHETS AND THE LAW PROHIESIED TILL JOHN †, i.e. "the Mosaic Law, and the Theocratic Government by which it was dispensed, continued in Being till the approach of this harbinger of Christ, John the Baptist; but was then superseded by the promulgation of a *new Law* and the establishment of a *new Kingdom*."

But as this interpretation is so different from the common, and understands the Prophecy as foretelling that the Jewish nation should not be bereft of Sovereign Power, by falling under a foreign Yoke, till the Advent of the MESSIAH, the Reader will excuse me, if I detain him a little longer on so important a subject.

The common notion of the *Sceptre of Judah*, is explained three different ways, each of which has it's particular Followers.

* *Mhhokek*, *Legislator*, aut *Legis interpres*. But the first is its original and proper Signification. And thus Isaiah [ch. xxxiii. ver. 22.] "The Lord is our *Judge*, the Lord is our LAWGIVER [*Mhhokekenou*], the Lord is our *King*, he will save us." Where the word *Mhhokek* is used in its proper Signification of *Lawgiver*: the other Sense of Dispenser or Interpreter of the Law being contained in the titles of *Judge* and *King*.

† Matt. xi. 13.

1. Some

1. Some suppose the *Sceptre of Judah* to signify the SOVEREIGNTY OF THE JEWISH NATION at large.

2. Others again suppose it to signify the SOVEREIGNTY OF THE TRIBE OF JUDAH.

3. And a third sort contend that it signifies not a sovereign or regal, but a TRIBAL SCEPTRE only.

In the Sense of a *Sovereignty in the Jewish People at large*, which is the most general interpretation, and, in my Opinion, the most natural of the three (as the whole People were long denominated from that tribe), the pretended Prophecy was not only never fulfilled, but has been directly falsified: because long before the *coming of Shiloh*, or of Christ, the Sceptre or Sovereignty in the Jewish people was *departed*. During the Babylonian and Persian Captivity, and while afterwards they continued in a tributary dependence on the Greeks, they could, in no reasonable sense, be said to have retained their *Sceptre*, their Sovereignty, or independent Rule. But it may be replied, "that the Prophecy by *departure*, meant a final departure; and in these instances it was but temporary: for CYRUS restored the *Sceptre* to them; and when it was again lost in the Grecian Empire, the MACCABEI recovered it for them." Though this be allowed, yet we must still confess, that the Romans, who under Pompey reduced Judea to a dependent Province, effectually overthrew the Prophecy. POMPEY took Jerusalem; and left to Hyrcanus, the last of the Asmonean family, only the office of High-Priest. From this time, to the birth of Christ, it was ever in dependence on the Romans, who disposed of all things at their pleasure. The Senate gave the Government of Judea to Antipater; and then to Herod his Son, under the title of King. And Archelaus, on the death of his Father, did not dare to take possession of this

subject-kingdom, till he had obtained leave of Augustus; who afterwards, on complaint of the Jews against him, banished him into the West, where he died. Now the precarious Rule of a dependent Monarch could no more be called a *Sceptre* (which, in the figurative mode of all languages, signifies *Sovereignty)* than the condition of the Jews could be said to be sovereign, when this Archelaus was deposed, and Coponius a Roman Knight made procurator of Judæa, at that time which the supporters of this interpretation fix for the *Departure of the Sceptre.*

I reckon for nothing another objection which has been made to the common interpretation, "That after the return from the Captivity, the Jews were, from time to time, under a form of Government resembling rather the Aristocratic than the Monarchic;" because the *Sceptre*, or Sovereignty, belongs equally to all those Forms. This then makes no more against the common interpretation, than the other, I am now going to mention, makes for it, namely, that the Senate of Rome gave the Government of Judæ to Herod under the title of KING; since the dependent rule of this Roitelet was as certainly the *departure of a Sceptre*, as a Sovereignty under an aristocratic Government was the *continuance* of it.

The learned Father Tournemine was so embarrassed with these difficulties, that in a dissertation on *the Sceptre of Judah*, he endeavours to shew, that the proof of the predicted birth of Christ from this Prophecy arises not from the *departure of the Sceptre*, but from its re-establishment under the Messiah*. Which thesis (as the intelligent reader may observe) fairly put him in the road; and, had it been pursued, would have led him to the sense I am here endeavouring to establish.

* Journal de Trevoux, Mars 1705, & Feb. 1721.

The

The second branch of the common interpretation is, That by the *Sceptre* is signified a *civil sovereignty in the tribe of Judah*. This, in my opinion, has still less of stability than the other. It supposes that the *Sceptre*, or the supreme rule of the Jewish People, remained in natives of that Tribe, from the time of David to the coming of Christ. But Petavius hath shewn, that from the giving of the Prophecy to the time of David (a Space of above six hundred Years), there was but one or two Rulers descended from the Tribe of Judah: And that from the death of Sedecias to the birth of Christ (a space of near the same number of years) all the Rulers of the Jewish People were of other Tribes; the Asmonean princes particularly being all of the tribe of Levi *. The Abbé de Houteville, who, at a very easy rate, hath obtained the reputation of an able defender of Revelation †, hath indeed invented a curious expedient to evade this difficulty. His system is, that the rulers of the tribe of Levi (and so I suppose of the rest) exercised this Sovereignty by leave, or deputation from the Tribe of Judah. To such wretched shifts are learned men reduced, when they have reversed the order of things, and made Truth to wait upon their Systems; instead of making their Systems subservient to Truth.

* —At complures antiquorum recentiorumque qui in illa Jacobi sententia *Judam* peculiari de tribu intellexerunt, id sibi Patriarcham voluisse credunt, ex stirpe ac progenie *Judæ* filii ipsius perpetuo Judæis præfuturum aliquem eorumque fore principem, donec Christus adveniat. Sed in hujus reddenda dicti ratione multum æstuant, siquidem vetustatis omni teste memoriâ refelluntur, quæ non solum ante Davidem unum alterumve duntaxat ex illa tribu rexisse populum ostendit, annis circiter 675 ab edita prophetia; sed etiam post Sedecias necem, occasumque Urbis & Templi ad Christum usque de alia quam *Judæ* stirpe duces extitisse annis 588; etenim Machabæos constat ex Levitica et Sacerdotali progenie descendere. Ration. Temporum, Par. II. L. III. C. 16.

† See his book, intitled, *Religion prouvée par les Faits.*

These two senses (by one or other of which the common interpretation hath been long supported) being found on a stricter scrutiny, to be untenable, men cast about for a third; and a happy one it was thought to be, which contrived, that *Sceptre* should signify a *domestic*, not a *civil* rule; a TRIBAL, not a SOVEREIGN *Sceptre*; and of which, they say, JUDAH, at the giving of the Prophecy, was already possessed. This expedient, the learned Dr. Sherlock, Bishop of London, has honoured with his support and protection *.

It would be want of respect to so eminent a Person, to pass over this refinement with the same slight notice that has been given to the other two. I shall therefore do myself the honour to consider his Lordship's reasoning more at large.

His Lordship's first argument in support of a *tribal Sceptre* is—That the *Sceptre's not* DEPARTING *from Judah* shews plainly that Judah had a Sceptre when the prophecy was given.—" Is there any sense (says " his Lordship) in saying that a thing shall not *depart*, " which never was yet in *possession?* The prophecy " is not a *grant* of the Sceptre, but a *confirmation* of " it. Now a confirmation of nothing is nothing: " And, to make it something, the *possession* of the " thing *confirmed* must be supposed. I know not by " what rules of language or grammar, these words can " be construed into a *grant* of the Sceptre. And " though so many writers and interpreters have followed " this sense, yet I do not remember to have seen one " passage or parallel expression from the Scripture, or " any other author, produced to justify the interpre- " tation." pp. 326, 7.

Is there any Sense (his Lordship asks) *in saying a thing shall not* DEPART which *never was yet in posses-*

* Use and Intent of Prophecy, Dissert. III. 5th Edit, 1749.

sion?

sion? Yes certainly, a very good one, in a PROPHECY, where the subject is not of a present but of a future possession; and where the Holy Spirit is wont to *call the things that are not, as though they were.* The Subject is a *Sceptre*, which could in no sense, not even in the sense of a *tribal sceptre*, be in possession of Judah before he became a *Tribe.* His Lordship, indeed, supposes he became a Tribe immediately after the death of Jacob.—*This power in the hands of the Tribes took place immediately upon the death of Jacob.* p. 323. But if it did? Was not that accession as properly *future*, as if it had been a thousand years after? Judah then, at the time of this Prophecy, not being in possession of his Sceptre, *a confirmation of nothing is nothing*, &c. so that all the absurdities here imagined stick to his Lordship's Æra of the *Sceptre*, as well as to the common one. But let us suppose that Jacob's Prophecy and death were individual; and then see how he proves his assertion, that Judah and the Rest became Tribes immediately on the death of Jacob. His proof is a little extraordinary—*When Moses and Aaron led them into the Wilderness* (says his Lordship) *we hear of the* ELDERS *of the people, and the* RULERS *of the congregation.* p. 323. His assertion is, that the *tribal sceptre* sprung up from the ashes of Jacob; and his proof, that it arose and flourished in the Wilderness. This is indeed the truth; it was a Native of that place; as may be fairly *presumed* from the occasion which the Israelites had of a tribal rule (namely, to fit them for the warfare they were now about to undertake), and as may be fairly *proved* from the first chapter of the book of Numbers—" And the Lord spake unto " Moses in the wilderness of Sinai: Take ye the sum " of all the congregation of the Children of Israel, " after their families, by the house of their Fathers—

" *all that are able to go forth to war in Israel*; " Thou and Aaron shall number them with their " armies. And with you, there SHALL BE A MAN " of every tribe; every one HEAD OF THE HOUSE of " his Fathers—and they assembled all the congre- " gation; and they declared their pedigrees, after " their families, by the house of their Fathers—These " were those which were numbered: and the PRINCES " OF ISRAEL BEING TWELVE MEN, EACH ONE WAS " FOR THE HOUSE OF HIS FATHERS. And the " Children of Israel shall pitch their tents, every man " by his own camp, and every man by his own standard, " throughout their Hosts—And the Children of Israel " did according to all the Lord commanded them *." Then follows the order of the Tribes in their tents †. Now, surely, this detailed account of these *tribal Sceptres* hath all the mark of a new Institution.

The Bishop's hypothesis therefore is without foundation: the *Sceptre* was something in *reversion*. Indeed the particular words, as well as the general nature of Prophecy, declare the subject to be of things future.— " And Jacob called to his sons, and said, *Gather* " *yourselves together that I may tell you what shall* " *befall you* IN THE LAST DAYS ‡." The Bishop owns, that *most of the Interpreters*, from these words, *take it for granted, and it is the common notion, that the Sceptre was not to be settled in Judah's family till some ages after the death of Jacob*. p. 326. I think they had not reason so to do. How does his Lordship prove they had? In this manner: " The observation, " when rightly applied, is right. And if the *continuance* " of the Sceptre of Judah be, as I suppose, the thing " foretold, it extends to the very last days of the Jewish

* Numb. i. 4, 5. 18. 44. 52. 54. † Numb. chap. ii.
‡ Gen. xlix. 1.

" State;

" State; and in this respect the interpretation is " justified :" (p. 327.) *i. e.* if you will agree that *futurity* refers to the *continuance*, and not to the *establishment* of the Sceptre, his Lordship will shew you, how well he can evade this objection. But though we were inclined to be thus complaisant, the book of Numbers would not suffer us: which informs us (we see) that even the *tribal Sceptre* was established long after the death of Jacob. But to go no farther than the Prophecy. If each Tribe had a Sceptre then existing, how happened it that Judah's is only named, *by way of* CONFIRMATION, as his Lordship will have it. For, *by way of* GRANT, we find Dan too had a Sceptre—*Dan* SHALL *judge his People as one of the Tribes* [or SCEPTRES] *of Israel.* But then Dan's is a *reversionary* Sceptre; and such a one destroys all his Lordship has been erecting.

To proceed—*The Prophecy* (says the Bishop) *is not a* GRANT *of a sceptre, but a* CONFIRMATION. The Prophecy itself plainly intimates the contrary. Jacob having told his sons that he would inform them *of what should befall them in the last days*, when he comes to Judah, he says, *Thy Father's Children shall bow down before thee**. This, if it was any thing, was the promise of a future Sceptre; and consequently it was the *grant*.

The Bishop goes on—*Now a confirmation of nothing is nothing.* Without doubt. But he supposes (what I have shewn to be a mistake), that there was no *grant*. If there were a *grant*, then the confirmation of it was the confirmation of *something*. He seems to be apprehensive of so obvious an answer, for he immediately adds—*I know not by what rules of language or grammar these words can be construed into a* GRANT *of the*

* Gen. xlix. 8.

Sceptre.

Sceptre. By the plainest *rule* in the world; that of *common sense*, the first and capital *rule* in every Art as well as *grammar*. For if Jacob made a declaration concerning some future prerogative, as the words—*Thy father's Children shall bow down before thee*—prove he did; and that this was the first time that Judah heard of it, as the words—*I will tell you what shall befall you in the last days*—prove it was; What can this Prophecy be but *the* GRANT *of a Sceptre?*

" Though so many writers and interpreters (says the " Bishop) have followed this sense, yet I do not re- " member to have seen one passage or parallel " expression from the Scripture or any other writer " produced to justify the interpretation." As for *any other Writers* than those of Scripture, I know of none who have prophesied: and the language of prophecy hath peculiarities unknown to other Compositions. But a *Scripture-writer* I am able to produce; and the same who has recorded this Prophecy of Jacob.—On Abraham's departure out of Haran, he being then seventy-five years of age, *the Lord*, as Moses tells us, *appeared unto him and said—Unto thy* SEED *will I give this Land**. Was this now a *grant*, or a *confirmation* only of SEED? " A confirmation only, says his Lordship: All the *grant* contained in these words is the grant of the LAND: and this shews (will he say) that the *Seed* was now existing: for a non-entity is incapable of receiving any grant or donation: besides, *a confirmation of nothing is nothing*, and so on."—Notwithstanding all this, it so happens that Abraham had then *no Seed.*

Here now is a *parallel expression*, which holds *à fortiori*. For if it be a little anomalous to talk of a

* Chap. xii. ver. 7.

thing's

thing's departing which was never yet in possession, it seems to be much more absurd to talk of *giving* to persons who were never yet in Being. Besides, the promise of Rule actually accompanies the promise of its duration: but the express promise of Seed does not accompany the promise of a provision for it: I suppose the reason of this difference of expression in the two places is, because to get a Son is a much commoner case than to get a Sceptre.

His Lordship having thus shewn, that Judah's Sceptre was a *Sceptre in possession*, he will prove next, that it was not a *civil*, but a *tribal sceptre*; which did not stretch its sovereignty over a whole nation, but was confined to the economic rule of the single tribe of Judah.—" Another thing supposed (says he) by " most interpreters is, that the *Sceptre*, here mentioned, " is an emblem of Dominion over all the tribes of " Jacob. But how can that be? Had not Jacob " settled a *sceptre* in every tribe? as is evident, " ver. 16. *Dan shall judge his people as one of the* " *Sceptres of Israel.* Suppose a Father has divided " his estate amongst twelve Sons, and should say of " one of them, *The Estate shall not depart from* " *John, for many ages*; could you possibly suppose " him to mean more than the *share* of the Estate given " to John? Could you understand him to mean that " all the estate, the twelve shares, should come to " John and continue in his family? The case is the " same here. Twelve Princes are created; Of one " of them Jacob says, *the Sceptre shall not depart* " *from him until Shiloh come.* Is it not plain then, " that the Sceptres are distinguished here; and that it " is foretold of one, that it shall long outlast the rest? " consequently the Sceptre here is an emblem of Autho- " rity IN AND OVER ONE TRIBE ONLY." pp. 328, 9.

His

His Lordship's reasoning, on which he grounds his parallel, stands thus—Judah's sceptre was the same with Dan's: now Dan's was a *tribal* Sceptre; therefore Judah's. But the very words of the Prophecy shew that the Sceptres were *specifically* different. Of Dan it is said, he shall judge his People AS ONE OF THE TRIBES OR SCEPTRES OF ISRAEL. Here is a *tribal* Sceptre marked out in express and proper terms. But of Judah's Sceptre it is said, THY FATHER'S CHILDREN SHALL BOW DOWN BEFORE THEE. Who were these *Children* but the eleven tribes? So that here a *civil* and a *sovereign* Sceptre is as properly and expressly marked out for Judah, as before, a *tribal* one for Dan. This shall judge his own tribe; but the other shall, with his own tribe, judge the rest also. And yet if you will rely on his Lordship's Authority, he has *a case in point*; and he assures us "that Judah's grant is the same as that of a Father's to his Son John, who when he had divided his estate amongst his twelve Sons should say of John's part, that it should not depart for many ages."

He tells us next, "that the sense of the word LAWGIVER will follow the fate of the word *Sceptre*." p.329. In this, I perfectly agree with him. And therefore, as his sense of the word *Sceptre* is found to be erroneous, his sense of the word *Lawgiver* must fall with it.

All that follows has nothing to do with the question of a *tribal Sceptre*, till we come to page 344. From thence to 350, he endeavours to take advantage of the hypothesis, to shew that this *tribal Sceptre* never departed from Judah till the coming of Christ: And here he had an easy task. But unluckily confounding *economic* with *civil* Rule, he embarrasses himself as much, to make out the completion of the Prophecy,

as

as the supporters of the other two branches of the common interpretation are wont to do.—As where he talks of the Jews in Babylon *ordering all matters relating to their own* CIVIL *and* ECCLESIASTICAL *Affairs.* p.345.—Their *coming back to their own Country as a People and a nation* GOVERNED BY THEIR OWN LAWS—*though never* SO FREE A PEOPLE *as they had been formerly. They lived under subjection to the Persian Monarch, and under the empire of the Greeks and Romans.* p. 347.—*The Evangelists shew that they lived under their* OWN LAWS, *and* EXECUTED JUDGMENT *amongst themselves.* p. 349.—*Had the exercise of* JUDICIAL AUTHORITY *amongst themselves.* p. 350. Thus, like the Successors of Peter, who enlarged his *Rock* into a *Citadel*, his Lordship at last lengthens his *tribal* Sceptre into a *sovereign.* But if here he extends it over a People and Nation, he contracts it as much by and by; and we see it shrink up into a mere philosophical or Stoical Regality. His Lordship undertakes to prove that the Jews were a FREE PEOPLE, from their own consciousness of their free condition.—*When our Saviour* (says the Bishop) *tells the Jews* "The truth shall make you free;" *they reply,* "We are Abraham's Children, and were never "in bondage to any man." p. 349. This his Lordship urges as a proof of their *Civil freedom.* But if the Jews, who expected a carnal Messiah to lead real armies against their enemies, could suppose that Jesus made them an offer of sending *Truth* in person, to execute this commission for them, their stupidity must have exceeded every thing we have been told of it, by their Enemies. To be plain with his Lordship, the subject here debated, between Jesus and his adversaries, is most foreign from his Lordship's purpose. Our blessed Saviour is here addressing himself to the

PHARISEES,

PHARISEES, a rank of men not ignorant of the Greek philosophy (though greatly mistaking its use when they brought so much of it into the Law), and therefore, with a Stoical dignity, he tells them—*the truth shall set you free.* They answer him in the same tone, *We are Abraham's Children, and were never in bondage to any man.* That is, "Our principles are of divine extraction, and we never suffered ourselves to be inslaved to human decisions." *Surely* (says his Lordship) *they had not forgot their captivity in Babylon.* Forgot! Why, Jesus had said nothing to put them in mind of it. The question is not about their freedom from Babylon, but from Error.—*Much less* (says he) *could they be ignorant of the power of the Romans over them at that time, and yet we see they account themselves free.* And why should they not, when the Question between Jesus and them was only who should make them so, HE or ABRAHAM. Strange! that his Lordship's own account of their *civil condition* under the *power of the Romans* should not have brought him to see, that the subject in hand was only of their *moral Condition.* Stranger still! that his solution of this difficulty should not have led him to discover that it was but imaginary—*they were free* (says his Lordship) *for they lived by their own Laws, and executed judgment amongst themselves.*—Had he added—*but, at the precarious nod of an arbitrary Tyrant*—it would doubtless have given great force to his observation: For, about this time, Coponius, a Roman Knight, was named Procurator of Judea. Nay, even the precarious privilege of punishing capitally was now taken from them: They had a pagan Governor: and Justice was administered, not by their own Forms of Law, but by the Roman. An admirable character of *civil Freedom!*

His Lordship seems to be no happier in answering others objections, than in urging his own proofs. "You will say (continues he) why did not Jacob "foretell also the continuance of the Sceptre of Ben- "jamin? For the tribe of Benjamin run the same "fortune with that of Judah: they went together "into captivity: they returned home together; and "were both in Being when *Shiloh* came." p. 355.

Upon my word, a shrewd objection. Let us see how his Lordship quits his hands of it. His first answer is,—*That from the division of the Kingdom after the death of Solomon, the tribe of Benjamin and the remnant of Israel, that is, part of all the other tribes,* ADHERED TO JUDAH AS THEIR HEAD. pp. 355, 6.

Here his Lordship seems fairly to have given up the Cause; his answer proving, in so many words, that *Judah's Sceptre* was not *tribal*, but *civil*. Let us examine it step by step. *Benjamin and the remnants of all the other tribes adhered to Judah as their head.* Now such an adherence can be no other than an acknowledgement of a *Civil Sceptre* in Judah. Yet his Lordship gives this as a reason why the continuance of Judah's Sceptre is foretold, and not Benjamin's. Therefore the Sceptre, whose continuance is foretold, was a *civil*, not a *tribal*, Sceptre, even on his own principles. If this needed a support, the words of the Prophecy afford it amply: his Lordship says, that *Benjamin and the remnants of all the other tribes adhered to Judah as their* HEAD; *and this adherence*, Jacob foretells—*Thy Father's children shall* FALL DOWN *before thee.*

Supposing therefore that this Sceptre of Judah were of the *civil* kind, his Lordship, it must be owned, has given a very satisfactory reason why Benjamin's *tribal* sceptre

sceptre was not mentioned. But if both were *tribal* Sceptres, the *continuance* of Benjamin's had as good a claim to the Prophet's notice (for any thing the Bishop has shewn to the contrary) as Judah's. Since as *Tribes*, they both continued to exist, and to exist distinct.

His second answer to the Objection seems as little satisfactory as the first—*Though the continuance of the* SCEPTRE *of Benjamin is not foretold, yet the continuance of the tribe or* PEOPLE *of Benjamin is distinctly foretold.* p. 356. Would you desire a more conclusive argument against his own notion of a *tribal Sceptre?* If this prophetic Sceptre of Judah was a *civil* one, there is a very good reason why the *continuance of the people*, and not of the *Sceptre* of Benjamin, should be foretold; because what Judah and Benjamin had in common was their continuing to exist as distinct tribes; the *Sceptre* being peculiar to the first: But if a *tribal* Sceptre be the subject of the Prophecy concerning Judah, then no possible reason can be assigned why the *continuance* of Benjamin's Sceptre should not be honoured with the divine notice as well as Judah's; since his Lordship assures us—*they both run the same fortune*; *they went together into captivity*; *they returned together to Judea*; *and were both in being when Shiloh came.* And while a *Tribe* continues distinct, a *tribal Sceptre* continues with it; just as the head of a family exists so long as there is a family to govern.

All this considered, his Lordship in my humble opinion had done well not to load himself with more than he had occasion to carry: especially as he had so little to answer for, in the success of this hypothesis; for he tells us at the end of his DISSERTATION, *that he has nothing more to add; but to acquaint the*

the reader that the interpretation of Jacob's Prophecy now advanced, was not a mere invention of his own; that it was, as to the main point, the same with that which is the fourth in HUETIUS, *and by him rejected, but for such reasons as had been fully obviated in this dissertation.*—That *it was the same which* JUNIUS *and* TREMELLIUS, *and our own learned Countryman,* AINSWORTH, *had espoused; and which not many years ago was revived and improved by Mr.* JONCOURT. pag. 358.

Now, from what hath been said, it appears that of all the three branches, into which the common interpretation spreads, though they be equally weak, the last betrays its weakness most. But, what is of principal consideration, it is, of all the three, least suitable to the DIGNITY OF PROPHECY; the whole body of which has a perpetual reference to one or other of the great parts of the Dispensation of Grace. Now the first branch refers with suitable dignity to a whole People at large: the second to the same People under the Government of one certain line: while the third concerns only the fortunes of a single Tribe, and under a Family-idea.

The common interpretation therefore being shewn so very exceptionable in all its branches, what remains for us to conclude, but that the true and real meaning of the *Sceptre of Judah* is that THEOCRATIC GOVERNMENT which God, by the vicegerency of Judges, Kings, and Rulers, exercised over the Jewish nation? We have shewn from various considerations of weight, that this THEOCRACY, which was instituted by the ministry of Moses, continued over that People till the coming of Shiloh or Christ; THAT PROPHET *like unto Moses*, whom God had promised to *raise up*. And to support what hath been urged from reason, to illustrate

this important truth, we have here a Prophetic declaration enouncing the same thing,—*the sceptre shall not depart from Judah till Shiloh come:* Shiloh is Christ. Now Christ is not the Successor of those VICEGERENTS of the Jewish State, but of God himself, the KING of the Jews. The Sceptre therefore which descends to him, through the hands of those vicegerents, is not merely a CIVIL, but a THEOCRATIC *Sceptre.* This, at the same time, explains the Evangelic doctrine of CHRIST'S KINGDOM, arising out of the *Theocracy* or *Kingdom of God.* Hence the distinction in that famous declaration of Christ, so much abused to factious and party purposes, that HIS KINGDOM WAS NOT OF THIS WORLD: The Theocracy which was administered over the Jews only, and in a carnal manner, was a *Kingdom of this world:* but when transferred to Shiloh, and extended over all mankind, and administered in a spiritual manner, it became *a Kingdom not of this world.* And the making the *Sceptre of Judah* neither *Tribal*, nor MERELY *Civil*, but properly *Theocratic*, clears the Prophecy from those insuperable difficulties which render all the other interpretations hurtful or dishonourable to the Prophetic system in general.

These are the superior advantages of the sense I have here endeavoured to establish. Nor are these all the advantages. The Prophecy is seen to embrace a much nobler object than was imagined. It was supposed to relate only to the fortunes of the *Jewish Economy*, and we find it extends itself to the *whole Dispensation of Grace.* It was considered but as a simple PROPHECY, while it had the dignity of a REVELATION. It was mistaken for the *species*, when it is indeed, of the *genus.*

But to all this an *Answerer* may reply: 1. "That, as we admit the THEOCRACY to be *a Kingdom of this*

World, the same objection will lie as well against the CONTINUANCE or duration of a *Theocratic* Sceptre as of a mere *Civil* one." But here we must distinguish. The Theocracy was indeed carnal in its *administration*, but in its *original* it was Divine. Therefore, as where the subject is of the *continuance* of a *mere civil* Sceptre, we cannot but understand the *continuance of its administration*, because the administration is inseparable from the existence; so where the subject is of the continuance of a *Theocratic* Sceptre, we must understand that continuance to consist in its remaining unrevoked, since what is of divine original exists, independently of its being actually administered; it exists till it be formally abrogated. This difference is evident from the nature of things. Forms of Government ordained by Men, cease when Men no longer administer them; because, in the non-administration of them, they are naturally supposed to revoke what they had ordained: But men's ceasing to administer (whether by choice or force) a Form of Government given by God, does not (on any rules of logic or ideas of nature) imply God's revocation of that form of Government.

Again, we must remember what has been said of the effect and consequence of a THEOCRACY. It not only *united*, but *incorporated* the two Societies, civil and religious, into One. And this incorporated body of the Jewish State went by the name of THE LAW. Now under that part of the Law which more intimately regarded Religion, the Jews always lived FREE till the publication of the Gospel; though the other part of it, regarding the sovereign administration of civil policy and justice, they had lost from the time of Pompey. For a power precariously enjoyed, and ready to be abolished at the nod of a Conqueror, can never be

called *Sovereign* (which implies the being free and independent) without the worst abuse of words, which is, the quibbling upon them. So that a Sovereignty in this Theocracy was still administered to the last, though in part. However, this partial exercise was consentaneous to the System on which this Theocracy was dispensed; its Administration being ordained to have a gradual decline. The Jews, for their transgressions, being first of all deprived of that natural effect of Theocratic rule, the *extraordinary providence:* and then, for their incorrigible manners, further punished by an infringement of their civil sovereignty: but still the Theocracy, as to that more essential, the Religious part, remained unhurt till the coming of Christ: And let it be observed, that it was this part in particular which was to be assigned over to him, from the Father. Thus, as I said before, this is not so properly a *prediction* of human events, as a *revelation* concerning the course of God's Dispensation.

2. Secondly, it hath been objected, that "according to the sense here put upon the *Sceptre*, it should have been said—*the Sceptre shall not depart from* JEHOVAH instead of JUDAH. But such Objectors do not advert, that the Theocracy was administered by Vicegerents of JUDAH. And this likewise will account for the expression of a *Lawgiver between his feet*.

3. Lastly, it may be said, "That by this interpretation of the *Sceptre of Judah* we deprive the Prophecy of one principal part of the information it was supposed to give, namely, the TIME of Christ's advent, which the common interpretation is supposed to fix exactly." To this I answer, that Religion loses nothing by this change, since there are so many other Prophecies which point out the *time* with infinitely more precision. On the other hand, Religion gains much by it, in evading

ing a number of objections, which had stigmatized the supposed Prediction with apparent marks of falshood.

Thus we see this noble Prophecy, concerning the transfer of the Kingdom of GOD, to CHRIST, contains a matter of much greater dignity in itself, and of much greater moment for the support of CHRISTIANITY, than could arise from the perplexed question about the reign of the Asmonean Princes, or the Continuance of the power of life and death amongst a tributary People. For, in predicting the *Abolition of the Law*, it supplies us with a new and excellent Argument for the Conversion of the Jewish People, fatally persuaded of its *eternal obligation.*

The Reasons of my being so particular concerning the duration of the THEOCRACY are various, and will be seen as occasion offers. Only the reader may here take notice, that it was necessary for the present purpose, to shew its continuance throughout the whole duration of the Republic, in order to vindicate the justice of those Laws all along in force, for the punishment of idolatrous Worship.

SECT. IV.

THUS far as to the nature and duration of the Mosaic Republic. Let us now see what PECULIAR CONSEQUENCES necessarily attended the administration of a THEOCRATIC form of Government.

One necessary consequence was an EXTRAORDINARY PROVIDENCE. For the affairs of a People under a Theocracy, being administered by God as King; and his peculiar and immediate administration of human affairs being what we call *an extraordinary Providence*; it follows that an extraordinary Providence must needs be exercised over such a People.

My meaning is, that if the Jews were indeed under a Theocracy, they were indeed under an extraordinary Providence: And if a Theocracy was only pretended, yet an extraordinary Providence must necessarily be pretended likewise. In a word, they must be either both true or both false, but still inseparable, in reality or idea. Nor does this at all contradict (as was suggested by Doctor SYKES even after he had seen his suggestion confuted) what I observe concerning the gradual decay and total extinction of the extraordinary Providence, while the Theocracy yet existed. For when I say *an extraordinary Providence was one necessary consequence of a Theocracy*, I can only mean that it was so in its original constitution, and in the order and nature of things: not that in this, which was matter of compact, the contravening acts of one Party might not make a separation. For, as this extraordinary Providence was (besides its being a mode of administration arising out of a Theocracy) a reward for obedience, it became liable to forfeiture by disobedience, though subjection to the Government still continued. I beg leave to illustrate this position both by a foreign and a domestic instance. The Ærarii in the Roman State were such who, for their crimes, were deprived of the right of Citizens: Yet these delinquents were obliged to pay the public taxes. At home, a voice in the supreme Council of the kingdom is the necessary consequence of an English Barony; yet they may be separated by a judicial Sentence; and actually have been so separated; as we may see in the two famous cases of Lord Verulam, and the Earl of Middlesex, in the reign of James the First; who were both deprived of their seats in the House of Lords, and yet held their Baronies, with all the other rights pertaining to them. Thus a punishment of this kind was inflicted

on

on the rebellious Israelites: they were deprived of the *extraordinary Providence:* and were yet held subject to the *Theocracy*, as appears from the Sentence pronounced upon them, by the mouth of the Prophet Ezekiel:—"Ye polluted yourselves with your idols "even unto this day: and shall I be enquired of by "you, O house of *Israel?* As I live, saith the Lord "God, *I will not be enquired of by you. And that* "*which cometh into your mind shall not be at all, that* "*ye say, We will be as the Heathen, as the Families* "*of the Countries, to serve Wood and Stone.* As I "live, saith the Lord, *with a mighty Hand, and with* "*a stretched-out Arm, and with Fury poured out,* "*will I rule over you. And I will bring you out* "*from the People, and will gather you out of the* "*Countries wherein ye are scattered*, with a mighty "Hand, and with a stretched-out Arm, and with "Fury poured out. And I will bring you into the "Wilderness of the People, and there will I plead "with you Face to Face. *Like as I pleaded with your* "*Fathers in the Wilderness of the Land of* Egypt, so "will I plead with you, saith the Lord. And *I will* "*cause you to pass under the Rod*, and *I will bring* "*you into the* BOND OF THE COVENANT." Chap. xx. ver. 31—37. It is here we see denounced, that the extraordinary Providence should be withdrawn; or, in Scripture phrase, *that God would not be enquired of by them*; That they should remain in this condition, which their *Fathers* had occasionally felt *in the wilderness*, when the extraordinary Providence, for their signal disobedience, was, from time to time, suspended: And yet, that, though they strove to disperse themselves amongst the People round about, and projected *in their minds to be as the heathen, and the families of the Countries, to serve wood and stone*, they should still be

under the government of a THEOCRACY; Which, when administered without an extraordinary Providence, the blessing, naturally attendant on it, was, and was justly called, THE ROD AND BOND OF THE COVENANT.

But now if you will believe a Professor of Divinity and a no less eminent dealer in Laws, the case grows worse and worse, and, from a contradiction in my system, it becomes a contradiction in God's. For thus Dr. RUTHERFORTH descants upon the matter: "As the Law was gradually deprived of its "Sanction, the *Obligation* of it grew continually "weaker, till at last, after the people were returned "from the Captivity, it must have ceased to oblige "them at all. For whatever may be the case of God's "MORAL LAW, yet most certainly, as he withdraws "the Sanctions of his POSITIVE ones, he takes off "something from their obligation; and when he "has wholly withdrawn the promise of reward and the "threatening of punishment, THOSE LAWS OBLIGE "NO LONGER." p. 329. To this *Determination* of the learned Professor, concerning OBLIGATION, I have nothing to oppose but the *Determination* of GOD himself: who, by the mouth one of his Prophets, declares, That the *Laws shall still oblige, though the Sanction be withdrawn.* "Ye pollute yourselves with "your Idols," &c.—as the reader may find it transcribed just above. Here God declares he would withdraw that extraordinary Providence which naturally attended a THEOCRACY — *I will not be enquired of by you.* "Yet do not (says he) deceive yourselves in an expectation that, because for your crimes I withdraw this sanction of my Law, the Law will oblige no longer— *and that which cometh into your mind shall not be at all, that ye say we will be as the heathen:* For, in order to the bringing about my own great purposes, I will still

still continue you a select and sequestered people—*I will bring you out from the people, and will gather you out from the Countries wherein you are scattered.* And will still rule over you by my Law; now, in my wrath, as before in my mercy. *With fury poured out I will rule over you, and bring you into the bond of the Covenant.*"

I suppose the thing that led our Doctor into this rash judgment, That *when the sanctions of a positive law are withdrawn, the obligation to the law ceases,* was his totally misunderstanding the principles of the best writers on the Law of Nature: Not by their fault, I dare assure the Reader.—*The Law of Nature* is written in the heart; but by Whom, is the question. And a question of much importance; for if not written by a competent Obliger it is no Law, to bind us. The enquirers therefore into this matter had no other way of coming to the Author of the Law, but by considering the effects which the observance or inobservance of it would have on mankind. And they found that the observance tended to the benefit of all, the inobservance to their destruction. They concluded therefore that it must needs have been given by God, as a Law to mankind; and these effects of its observance or inobservance they called the *sanction.* Hence it appears that the knowledge of our *obligation to the Law of nature* arises from the knowledge of the *sanction.* And, this sanction away, we had not been obliged, because we could never have discovered any real ground of obligation.

But the *positive Law of the Jews* was written in stone by the finger of God, in a visible manner; in which the senses of the People were appealed to, for the truth of the transaction. Here the knowledge of their obligation did not arise from their knowledge of the

the sanction, but from quite another thing, namely, the immediate knowledge they had by their senses, that God, their sovereign Lord and Master, gave them the Law. To inforce which, a *sanction* indeed was added; but a sanction that added nothing to the obligation, nor consequently that took from it, when it was withdrawn.

This is a plain and clear state of the case. Yet so miserably has our Professor mistaken it, that for want of seeing on what principle it was which the writers on the Law of Nature proceeded, when they supposed *obligation to depend on the sanction*, he hath, of a particular case, made a general maxim: and in applying that maxim, he hath turned every thing topsy-turvy, and given us just the reverse of the medal. He supposes the taking the sanction from the moral Law might not destroy the obligation (which it certainly would)—*whatsoever*, says he, *might be the cause of God's moral Laws*; and that taking away the sanction from his positive Law would destroy the obligation (which it certainly would not).

What might further mislead our Professor (for the more such men read, the less they understand) is the attribute the Roman Lawyers give to such civil Laws as are made without a penal sanction. These they are wont to call, *Leges imperfectæ:* And our great Civilian might believe that this assigned *imperfection*, had a reference to the *obligation* they imposed, whereas it refers to the *efficacy* they were able to work. He should have known at least this first principle of Law, That it is the AUTHORITY of the Lawgiver, not the SANCTION he annexes to his Law, which makes it, I will not say, OPERATE *properly* (for this is nothing to the purpose), but makes it OBLIGE *really*, which is only to the purpose. In a word, I know of nobody but

but HOBBES, besides this Doctor, who pretended to teach that the *obligation* to Laws depended upon their *sanction:* and this he did, because he derived all *right* and *wrong* from the Civil Magistrate: which, for aught I know, our learned Professor may do likewise, as only mistaking *right* and *wrong* (by a blunder like to the foregoing) for *good* and *evil*. Yet hath this grave man written most enormously both on LAWS and MORALS: And is indeed a great Writer, just as the mighty Giant, Leon Gawer, was a great Builder; of whom the Monk of Chester so sweetly sings:

" The Founder of this City, as saith Polychronicon,
" Was Leon Gawer, a mighty strong Giant,
" Which builded *Caves* and *Dungeons* many a one:
" No goodly Building, ne proper, ne pleasant."

But our business at present is not with the actual administration of an extraordinary Providence, but with the Scripture representation of such an administration. And this the sacred history of the Jews attests in one uniform unvaried manner; as well by recording many instances of it in particular, as by constantly referring to it in general.

I. The first is in the History of MIRACLES. For an equal Providence being, by the nature of man's situation and affairs, necessarily administered partly by ordinary and partly by extraordinary means, these latter produce what we call *Miracles*, the subject of the sacred Writers their more peculiar regard. But I apprehend it would be thought presuming too much on the reader's patience, to expect his attention, while I set myself formally to prove that many *miracles* are related in the sacred history of the Israelites.

The simpler sort of Deists fairly confess that the Bible records the working of many Miracles, as appears even from the free names they give to those accounts.

accounts. But there are refiners in Infidelity, such as SPINOZA and his mimic TOLAND; who acknowledge many of the facts recorded, but deny them to have been miraculous. These are to our purpose, and an Appeal to the common sense of Mankind is a sufficient answer to them all. And surely I should have done no more, had they not attempted to draw in to their Party much honester men than themselves. For such, therefore, even charity requires us to attempt some kind of defence.

The infamous *Spinoza* would persuade us that JOSEPHUS himself was as backward in the belief of Miracles as any modern Pagan whatsoever. The handle, for his calumny, is * that Writer's relation of the *passage* of the *Red-sea*; which he compares to Alexander's through the *Pamphylian*, and which concludes with saying that *every Man may believe of it as he pleases.* No unusual way with this Historian, of

* — Scriptura de natura in genere quibusdam in locis affirmat eam fixam atque immutabilem ordinem servare.—Philosophus præterea in suo *Eccl.* clarissime docet nihil novi in natura contingere.—Hæc igitur in Scriptura expresse docentur, at nullibi, quod in natura aliquid contingat, quod ipsius legibus repugnet, aut quod ex iis nequeat sequi, adeoque neque etiam Scripturæ affingendum. —Ex quibus evidentissime sequitur miracula res naturales fuisse. —Attamen—de his unicuique, prout sibi melius esse sentiet, ad Dei cultum & religionem integro animo suscipiendum, liberum est existimare. Quod etiam JOSEPHUS SENTIT; sic enim in conclusione, *l.* 2. *Antiq.* scribit, *Nullus vero discredat verbo miraculi, si antiquis hominibus, & malitia privatis via salutis liquet per mare facta, sive voluntate* Dei, sive sponte revelata: dum & eis, qui cum Alexandro rege Macedoniæ fuerunt olim, & antiquitus à resistentibus Pamphylicum mare divisum sit, & cum aliud iter non esset, transitum *præbuit iis, volente Deo, per eum Persarum destruere principatum*; *& hoc confitentur omnes, qui actus Alexandri scripserunt*; DE HIS ITAQUE, SICUT PLACUERIT CUILIBET, EXISTIMET. Hæc sunt verba Josephi, ejusque DE FIDE MIRACULORUM JUDICIUM. Tract. Theologico-Pol. C. vi. de Miraculis, p. 81, 82.

introducing

introducing or ending a miraculous Adventure. This hath indeed so libertine an air, that it hath betrayed some Believers into the same false judgment concerning Josephus; as if he afforded only a political or philosophical belief to these things; and gave a latitude to *those of his own Religion*, to think as they should see cause.

But here lies the difficulty; the Historian is every now and then putting on a very different aspect, and talking like a most determined Believer. Many are the places where he expresses the fullest and firmest assent to the *Divinity* of the *Mosaic* Religion, and to the *Truth* of the sacred Volumes. To mention only one or two, from a Book so known, and in a point so notorious. The following words of his Introduction (where he cannot possibly be considered as a translator, or relator only of what he found in the *sacred books*, from which he composed his History) these, I say, shew in how different a light he regarded *Moses* from all other Lawgivers: "And now I earnestly "intreat all who take these Volumes in hand, to apply "themselves with their whole faculties to the contem- "plation of the Divine Nature, and then turn to our "LAWGIVER, and see whether he has not made a "representation of that Nature entirely worthy of "it; always assigning such Actions to GOD, as be- "come his excellence, and preserving the high subject "clear from any impure mixture of FABLE. Though "if we consider the distance and antiquity of the "Time he wrote in, we cannot but understand he was "at full liberty to invent and falsify at pleasure. For "he lived full two thousand years ago.—A distance "of Time to which even the Poets dared not to carry "up the birth of their Gods, the actions of their "Heroes,

" Heroes, or the establishment of their Laws*." Here, we see, the Historian expressly declares that MOSES in his writings employed *no degree of fiction*, so common in the practice of other ancient Lawgivers.

And how *truly* divine he supposed the LAW, appears from his observing, in the same place, that, while the *Jews* religiously observed its Precepts, all things went well and prosperously; but that, whenever they transgressed, then nothing but disasters followed. And lest any one should pretend, he meant no more than that national happiness was the natural consequence of adhering to the Laws of their Country; or that those Laws, being founded on Just and Right, God (whose general Providence it is agreed he acknowledged) would reward the virtuous observers, whatever were the original of such Laws; lest, I say, this should be pretended, he adds, that these disasters followed whenever they transgressed the Law, though in pursuit of things just and good. His words are these: " Upon the whole, what the Reader of this " History may chiefly learn from it is this: That " those who obsequiously study the Will of God, " and reverence his well established Laws, pass their " lives in incredible prosperity; Happiness, the re- " ward from God, ever attending their obedience. " But in proportion to their neglect of these Laws,

* Ἤδη τοίνυν τὸς ἐλευξομένους τοῖς βιβλίοις παρακαλῶ τῶν γνώμην Θεῷ προσανέχειν, καὶ δοκιμάζειν τὴν ἡμέτερον Νομοθέτην, εἰ τήν τε φύσιν αὐτῷ ἀξίως καλινόησε, καὶ τῇ δυνάμει πρεπέσας ἀεὶ τὰς πράξεις ἀπλέθηκε, πάσης καθαρὶν τὸν περὶ αὐτῷ φυλάξας λόγον τῆς παρ' ἄλλοις αἰσχήμονος μυθολογίας· καίτοιγε, ὅσον ἐπὶ μήκει χρόνε καὶ παλαιότηλι, πολλὴν ἔχων ἄδειαν ψευδῶν πλασμάτων. γέγονεν γὰρ πρὸ ἐτῶν δισχιλίων,—ἐφ' ὅσον πλῆθος αἰῶνος δὲ αὐτῶν οἱ ποιηλαὶ τὰς γενέσεις τῶν Θεῶν, μήτιγε τὰς τῶν ἀνθρώπων πράξεις, ἢ τὸς νόμους ἀνειξεῖν ἐτόλμησαν. Vol. i. pp. 3, 4.

" easy

" easy things become unsurmountable, and all their " undertakings, *how justly soever directed*, end in " incurable calamities*." In which words, I take it for granted, he had the case of *Saul* particularly in his view. Again, so full was his persuasion of the Divinity of the Law, that he extols the *Jews* for suffering *Ptolemy*, the son of *Lagus*, to take their City by storm on the seventh day, rather than violate the *Sabbatic* rest. *Agatharchides* (says he) *thinks this scruple worthy of contempt and laughter. But those who weigh it without prejudice, will see something truly great, and deserving of the highest commendations, in thus always preferring their Piety towards God, and adherence to his Law, before their own safety, or even the freedom of their Country*†.

These passages, we see, have all the marks of a very zealous Believer. And what makes the greatest difficulty of all, is, that the very places in which the Historian uses such offensive latitude of expression, are those where he employs his utmost endeavours to shew the real Divinity of his Religion; of which these *Miracles* are produced as evidence; an evidence he studiously seeks, and seems to dwell upon with pleasure.

This varying aspect, therefore, so indifferently assumed, creates all the embarras. But would men

* Τὸ ζύνολον δὲ μάλιστά τις ἂν ἐκ ταύτης μάθοι τῆς ἱστορίας, ἐθελήσας αὐτὴν διελθεῖν, ὅτι μὲν τοῖς Θεῷ γνώμῃ καλακολεθοῦσι, καὶ τὰ καλῶς νομοθετεθέντα μὴ τολμῶσι παραβαίνειν, πάντα καλορθοῦται πέρα πίστεως, καὶ γέρας εὐδαιμονίας προκεῖται παρὰ Θεοῦ· καθ' ὅσον δ' ἂν αποστῶσι τῆς τούτων ἀκριβοῦς ἐπιμελείας, ἄπορα μὲν γίνεται τὰ πόριμα, τρέπεται δ' εἰς ζυμφορὰς ἀνηκέστους, ὅ, τι ποτ' ἂν, ὡς ἀγαθὸν δρᾶν σπεύδωσιν. Vol. i. pp. 3, 4.

† Τοῦτο μὲν Ἀγαθαρχίδῃ καταγέλωτος ἄξιον δοκεῖ τοῖς δὲ μὴ μετὰ δυσμενείας ἐξετάζουσι φαίνεται μέγα καὶ πολλῶν ἄξιον ἐγκωμίων, εἰ καὶ ζωῆρας καὶ παλαιόθεν ἄνθρωποί τινες νομων φυλακὴν καὶ τὴν πρὸς Θεὸν εὐσέβειαν ἀεὶ προτιμῶσιν. Vol. ii. p. 458.

only

only do in this case what they ought to do in all, when they pass their judgment on an ancient writing, that is, consider the *End*, and *Time*, and *Genius* of the Writer, together with the Character of those to whom the work is addressed; they would find *Josephus* to be indeed a steady Follower of the Law, and a firm Believer of its *miraculous* establishment; and, at the same time, discover the easy solution of all those untoward appearances which have brought his Religion into question.

The case, with our Historian, stood thus: His Country was now in great distress; its Constitution overturned, and his Brethren in apparent danger of utter Extirpation; calamities arising as much from the ill will which the Heathens had entertained of their Religion * for its *unsociable* nature, as for their own turbulent and rebellious Carriage. This ill-will had been much increased by their superior Aversion to *Christianity*, considered by them as a Sect of *Judaism*; which had carried its insociability as far, and its pretensions much farther: so far as to insist on the necessity of all Men's submitting to its dominion, and renouncing their own Country Religions as the Impostures of Politicians, or the Inventions of evil Demons. This put the Heathen world into a flame, and produced those mad and wicked Persecutions that attended the first Propagation of the *Christian* Faith †. Such was the unfriendly state of things, when *Josephus* undertook an Apology for his Nation, in the History of its Antiquities. Now as their conquerors' aversion to them, arose from the supposition that their Religion required the belief and obedience of all Mankind (for they had, as we observed, confounded *Judaism* with *Christianity*), to wipe off

* See note [I] at the end of this Book. † See Book I.

this

this invidious imputation, we must conclude, would be ever in the Author's thoughts. So that when the course of his History leads him to speak of the effects of GOD's extraordinary Providence in his conduct of this People, he sometimes adds to his relation of a miraculous adventure, *but in this every Man may believe as he pleases.* A declaration merely to this effect: "The "*Jewish* Religion was given by GOD for the use of "his chosen People, therefore the Gentiles might "believe as they pleased. The *Jews* did not pretend "they should leave their own Country Religion to "embrace theirs*: That in this they were different "from the *Christian* Sect, which required all Mankind "to follow the Faith of a crucified Saviour under pain "of total destruction †. But that yet they were not "so *unhospitable*, but that they received with open arms "all who were willing to worship one God the Creator "of the Universe ‡." Thus we see how it came to pass (which was the main difficulty), that the places where he gives such a latitude of Belief, are those very places where he most labours to prove the Divinity of his Religion.

But this solution clears up all difficulties, and shews the Historian's great consistency, as well as artful address, throughout the whole work. *Josephus* professes the most awful regard to the sacred Volumes; and yet, at the same time, takes such liberties of going from their authority, that it provoked the honest resentment of a late excellent Writer § to the following asperities: "Nec levis sit suspicio illum Hebraice

* See note [K] at the end of this Book.

† See note [L] at the end of this Book.

‡ — καὶ τοῦτο μόνον εἶναι κοινὸν, εἰ βέλονται, πρὸς αὐτὰς καὶ πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις, ἀφικνουμένοις εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν σέβειν τὸν Θεόν. Vol. i. p. 556.

§ Bishop Hare.

"non scivisse, cum multis indiciis linguæ ejus impe-
"ritiam prodat. Quivis certe, cui vel mica salis est,
"sentiat illum Historias Sacras pro arbitrio interpo-
"lasse, demendo, addendo, immutando, ut Antiqui-
"tates suas ad Lectorum Græcorum & Romanorum
"palatum accommodaret." But this license, though surely to be condemned, was however something more legitimate and sober than is generally supposed; his deviation from Scripture being in those places *only*, where an exact adherence to it would have increased that general aversion to his Nation, whose effects were at that time so much to be dreaded, either as exposing the *perverse nature* of the People, or the *unsociable genius* of their Religion. To give an instance or two of each:

1. The *murmuring* of the *Israelites*, for *bread* and *flesh* in the Wilderness, is represented in Scripture, and justly*, as an act of horrid ingratitude towards God. Yet *Josephus* makes *Moses* own they had reason for their complaints †. And in the execrable behaviour of the Men of *Gibeah* to the *Levite* and his wife, though Scripture expressly says they attempted a more unnatural crime than adultery, yet the Historian passes this over in silence, and makes all the personal outrage attempted, as well as committed, to be offered to the woman ‡. The reader will now easily account for what Mr. *Whiston* could not, his Author's omission of the story of the *golden Calf* §. For this was so amazing a perversity, at that juncture, that it must have made the very *Pagans* themselves ashamed of their *Jewish* brethren in idolatry.

* Exod. xvi.

† παθών δ' ἐκ ἀλόγως αὐτὸς διὰ τὴν ἀνάγκην τοῦτο νομίσας. Antiq. Jud. l. iii. c. 1. § 5.

‡ *Ant. Jud.* l. v. c. 2. § 8.

§ See note [M] at the end of this Book.

2. Again,

2. Again, we are told in Scripture, that when the *Cutheans*, or *Samaritans*, heard that the *Jews*, who were returned from the Captivity, were rebuilding the Temple, they came and desired to be partners in the work, and joint Worshippers of the God for whom it was erected; to which the *Jews* gave this round reply: *You have nothing to do with us, to build an House unto our God, but we ourselves together will build unto the Lord God of* Israel, *as King* Cyrus *the King of* Persia *hath commanded us**. And *Nehemiah*, on the same occasion, gave them a still rougher answer: *The God of Heaven he will prosper us, therefore we his Servants will arise and build: but you have no Portion, nor Right, nor Memorial in* Jerusalem†. This was a tender place: it was touching upon the very sore, in an express declaration of the *Unsociableness* complained of. The story therefore, we may be sure, was to be softened before the Gentiles were to be intrusted with it. Accordingly, *Josephus* makes them speak in these obliging terms: *That they could not possibly admit them as partners in the work; for that the command to build the Temple was directed to them first by* Cyrus, *and now by* Darius: *That indeed they were at liberty to worship along with them: and that this was the only Community, in religious matters, that they could enter into with them, and which they would do with as many of the rest of Mankind, as were willing to come up to the Temple to adore the God of Heaven*‡. The reason the *Scripture Jews* give for the refusal of the offer to be joint partners with them in their work and

* Ezra iv. 3. † Neh. ii. 20.

‡ — ἔφασαν, "τῆς μὲν οἰκοδομίας αὐτὲς ἀδύναλον εἶναι κοινωνεῖν, αὐτῶν προσαχθέντων καλασκευάσαι τὸν ναὸν, πρότερον μὲν ὑπὸ Κύρου, νῦν δὲ ὑπὸ Δαρείου· προσκυνεῖν δὲ αὐτοῖς ἐφιέναι. καὶ τέτο μόνον εἶναι κοινὸν, εἰ βέλοιλαι, πρὸς αὐτὲς καὶ πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις, ἀφικνεμένοις εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν σέβειν τὸν Θεόν." Vol. i. p. 556.

worship, is, that it was a Temple built in the *Land of Israel*, and to the honour of the *God of Israel*. The reason *Josephus's Jews* give for their refusal, is, obedience to the King of Persia: else, as for *community* of worship, they were very ready to receive them.

And now was not that a wise project* which proposed reforming the *sacred Text* by the Writings of *Josephus?*

But this Explanation will enable us to conclude with certainty against that *spurious* passage concerning CHRIST. I think I have already offered one demonstrative argument against it†. And I suppose, the many marks of forgery are so glaring, that most men would be willing to give it up, were *Josephus*'s silence on so extraordinary an occasion but easy to be accounted for. Now we have so far laid open his conduct, as to see, that the preaching up of CHRIST was an affair he would studiously decline. His great point, as we observed, was to reconcile the Gentiles to his Countrymen. But the *Pagan* aversion was greatly increased by the new Sect of *Christians*, sprung, as was well known, from the Country of *Judea*. It was therefore utterly destructive of his purpose to shew, as he must have done, in giving them an account of CHRIST, the close connexion between the two Religions. Of all dangerous subjects, therefore, *Josephus* would be careful to avoid this‡. So that

* Mr. Whiston's. † See vol. i.

‡ "La plus forte preuve qu'on ait, pour soutenir que le passage en question, où il est parlé de JESUS CHRIST, est de *Joseph*, c'est qu'il n'est pas croyable, qu'il n'ait rien dit de JESUS CHRIST. Photius fournit une réponse a ce raisonnement, en parlant de *Juste de Tiberide*, qui a ecrit l'Histoire des Juifs en Grec, et qui vivoit du tems de Joseph, avec qui il a eû de grands demelez. Juste de Tiberide, dit Photius n'a point parlé de JESUS CHRIST parce qu'il etoit Juif de Nation et de Religion." P. Simon, Bibl. Crit. vol. ii. pag. 41.

(certain

(certain as I am of the Writer's purpose, and not ignorant of the liberty he took with the sacred Records, when it served his ends, of adding and omitting at pleasure) I should have been as much surprised to have found the *History* of JESUS in his Works, as others are to be told that it is not there. This too will equally well account for his omission of Herod's slaughter of the children at Bethlehem, which Scaliger so much wondered at *; which Collins so much triumphed in †; and for the sake of which, our Whitby seemed ready to give up the truth of the story ‡.

Thus did this excellent Writer, out of extreme love to his Country (the most pardonable however of all human frailties) make too free with Truth and Scripture; though most zealously attached to the Religion of his Forefathers: as those Men generally are who love their Country best. And a *Jew* he strictly was, of a very different Stamp too, from that poor paltry Mimic of the *Greek* Sophists, *Philo* §. Of whom his Master *Plato would have said*, what *Josephus* tells us *Aristotle did say*, of one of his *Jewish* Acquaintance, A GREEK HE WAS, AND NOT IN SPEECH ONLY, BUT IN SOUL LIKEWISE ‖.

I judged it of importance to set this matter in a true light: Because many, I supposed, would think it a fair prejudice against the Divinity of the *Mosaic* Religion, had a person so eminent amongst his Coun-

* Animad. in Chron. Eusebii.

† Scheme of literal Prophecy considered.

‡ Comment on the New Testament.

§ *Philo*, in his life of *Moses*, brings in the *Egyptian* Priests reasoning on the *Platonic* principles, concerning the soul that informed *Moses*'s body; which is altogether as well judged, as if a modern Writer of the Life of *Ptolemy* the Astronomer should bring him in explaining Sir *Isaac Newton's Principia*.

‖ Ἑλληνικὸς ἦν, ὁ τῇ διαλέκτῳ μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῇ ΨΥΧΗ.

trymen while the Republic was yet existing, and of so learned an age; so conversant in the *Jewish* Records, and so skilled in the best *Grecian* Literature; had such a one afforded only a political or philosophic Faith to the sacred Volumes. But then it will follow on the other hand, that the sincere *Belief* of one, so circumstanced, will be as fair a prejudice in its favour.

Not that I am over fond of this kind of evidence, in matters where every one is obliged to judge for himself; and consequently, where every one, on a due application to the subject, is capable of judging. Much less would I lay great weight on the opinions of Men out of their own Profession, however eminent in any other. What is it to Truth, for instance, what a Courtier judges of a Church; a Politician of Conscience; or a Geometer, grown grey in *Demonstration*, of *moral Evidence?*—To go on:

Miracles, therefore, as they are recorded to be continued through so large a period of this Republic. I give for one proof that the Scriptures have represented the Israelites as living under an extraordinary Providence. I say, as they are recorded to be so *continued:* For when miracles are only given at the first propagation of a Religion (as of the Christian), they are to be no otherwise esteemed of, than as the Credentials of a new Revelation: These being like the Cloud which conducted the Israelites in their journeyings in the wilderness; the other like the same Cloud which abode upon the Mercy-seat: These like the Manna rained down from heaven only for a present subsistence; the other like the same Manna preserved uncorrupted in the Ark, to be a testimony to future ages.

II. This extraordinary Providence is represented as administered; 1. Over the State in general. 2. Over

private Men in particular. And such a representation we should expect to find from the nature of the Republic; because, as an extraordinary Providence over the STATE necessarily follows GOD's being their TUTELARY DEITY; so an extraordinary Providence to PARTICULARS follows as necessarily from his being their SUPREME MAGISTRATE *.

As to this Providence over the State, it would be absurd to quote particular texts, when the whole BIBLE is one continued history of it. Only it may not be amiss to observe, that from a passage in Ezekiel, where GOD says, *Because that* Moab *and* Seir *do say*, BEHOLD THE HOUSE OF JUDAH IS LIKE UNTO ALL THE HEATHEN †, it appears the Jews had boasted, and the Gentiles, till then, had acknowledged, that they were under an extraordinary Providence. As this therefore is so plain, I shall not hazard the obscuring it by many words: but go on to shew, that Scripture represents this Providence as administered likewise to Particulars.

In the Dedication of the first Temple, SOLOMON addresses his Prayer to GOD, that the Covenant between him and the People might remain for ever firm and inviolate, and the old Economy be still continued. And after having enumerated divers parts of it, he proceeds in this manner: "When the heaven is shut "up, and there is no rain, because they have sinned "against thee; yet if they pray towards this Place, "and confess thy name, and turn from their sin when "thou dost afflict them; Then hear thou from heaven, "and forgive the sin of thy SERVANTS and of thy "PEOPLE ISRAEL, when thou hast taught them the "good way wherein they should walk; and send rain

* See note [N] at the end of this Book.

† Chap. xxv. ver. 8.

" upon the Land which thou hast given unto thy " People for an inheritance. If there be dearth in the " Land, if there be pestilence, if there be blasting or " mildew, locusts or caterpillers; if their enemies " besiege them in the cities of their Land; whatsoever " sore, or whatsoever sickness there be: Then what " prayer, or what supplication shall be made *of* ANY " MAN, or of all thy PEOPLE ISRAEL, *when* EVERY " ONE *shall know his own sore, and his own grief*, and " shall spread forth his hands in this house: then hear " thou from heaven, and forgive, and RENDER UNTO " EVERY MAN according unto all his ways, whose " heart thou knowest*." Solomon in this petition, which, with respect to the given *Covenant*, we might properly call a PETITION OF RIGHTS, speaks the language of one who extended the temporal sanctions of the Law to PARTICULARS and INDIVIDUALS. For he desires God, according to the terms of the Covenant, to render unto *every man according to all his ways*. But when is it that he prays for the exertion of this extraordinary providence to particulars? At the very time when it is administering to the state in general.—*If there be dearth in the land, if there be pestilence, if there be blasting or mildew, locusts or caterpillers, if their enemies besiege them*, &c. The necessary consequence is, that as sure as Solomon believed an extraordinary Providence exercised to the State in general, so surely did he believe it exercised to individuals in particular. The Psalmist bears his testimony to the same Economy: *I have been young* (says he) *and now am old: yet have I not seen the Righteous forsaken, nor his seed begging their bread*†. God himself declares it, by the Prophet Isaiah: *Say ye to*

* 2 Chron. vi. 26. See also note [O] at the end of this Book.

† Psal. xxxvii. 25. See also note [P] at the end of this Book.

the

*the Righteous that it shall be well with him: for they shall eat the fruit of their doings. Wo unto the Wicked, it shall be ill with him: for the reward of his hands shall be given him**. And again: *He that walketh righteously and speaketh uprightly*, &c. *he shall dwell on high: his place of defence shall be the munitions of rocks, bread shall be given him, his waters shall be sure* †. And we learn, from a parabolical command in Ezekiel, how exactly these promises were fulfilled: "And the Lord said unto him, Go through "the midst of the city, through the midst of Jerusalem, "and set a mark upon the foreheads of the men that "sigh, and that cry for all the abominations that be "done in the midst thereof. And to others he said "in mine hearing, Go ye after him through the city, "and smite: let not your eye spare, neither have ye "pity. Slay utterly old and young, both maids and "little children, and women; *but come not near any "man upon whom is the mark*; and begin at my Sanc-"tuary ‡," &c. The same Prophet in another place, alluding to Abraham's intercession for Sodom, declares from God, that when his judgments come out against the land of Judea, the Righteous, found in it, should save only themselves; which plainly shews, a providence extending to particulars—"Son of man, when "the land sinneth against me by trespassing grievously, "then will I stretch out mine hand upon it, and will "break the staff of the bread thereof, and will send "famine upon it, and will cut off man and beast from "it. Though these three men, Noah, Daniel, and "Job, were in it, they should deliver but their own "souls by their righteousness, saith the Lord God." Ch. xiv. 13, 14. But God, by the Prophet *Amos*,

* Chap. iii. ver. 10, 11. † Chap. xxxiii. ver. 15, 16.

‡ Chap. ix. ver. 4—6. See also note [Q] at the end of this Book.

describes

describes this administration of Providence in the fullest manner: "Also I have withholden the rain from "you, when there were yet three months to the har- "vest; *and I caused it to rain upon one city, and* "*caused it not to rain upon another city: one piece* "*was rained upon, and the piece whereupon it rained* "*not, withered.* So two or three cities wandered "unto one city to drink water; but they were not "satisfied: yet have ye not returned unto me, saith "the Lord. I have smitten you with blasting and "mildew *," *&c.* And again: *Lo, I will command, and I will sift the house of* Israel *amongst all Nations, like as corn is sifted in a sieve, yet shall not the least grain fall upon the earth* †.

These declarations of God's providence are so exactly correspondent to Solomon's petition; that they seem as it were the FIAT to it ‡.

Thus we see the Law, as well by its express declarations as by its essential nature and genius, extended its sanctions of temporal rewards and punishments as well to Particulars as to the General. And as in civil Government, universal practice shews the necessity of a more exact dispensation of punishment than of reward, so we may observe from the passages last quoted, that the Mosaic Law had the same attention; which occasioned the Wise Man to say, *Behold the Righteous shall be recompensed in the Earth:* MUCH MORE *the Wicked and the Sinner* §.

The inspired writers of the NEW TESTAMENT give evidence to this dispensation of Providence under the OLD. The Author of the Epistle to the Hebrews argues from it as a thing well known and generally allowed: *For if the Word spoken by Angels was*

* Chap. iv. ver. 7—11. † Chap. ix. ver. 9.

‡ See note [R] at the end of this Book. § Prov. xi. 31.

stedfast,

stedfast, and EVERY TRANSGRESSION AND DISOBEDIENCE RECEIVED A JUST RECOMPENCE OF REWARD, *how shall we escape if we neglect so great salvation* * *?*

St. Paul, in his Epistle to the Romans, speaking of the advantages which Christianity had over Judaism, says: *Therefore being justified by faith, we have peace with God through our Lord Jesus Christ. By whom also we have access by Faith into his Grace, wherein we stand, and rejoice in hope of the glory of God. And not only so, but* WE GLORY IN TRIBULATION ALSO, *knowing that Tribulation worketh patience* †, *&c.* Here St. Paul, opposing the advantages which the Gentile Converts had by FAITH, to those which the Jews, in contempt to the Gentiles, gloried to have by the LAW, adds, in order to shew those advantages in their highest superiority, that the Christian Gentiles could glory even in that which was the very opprobrium of the Jews, namely, *tribulation.* For the sanction of the Jewish Law being temporal rewards and punishments, administered by an equal providence; *Tribulation* was a punishment for crimes, and, consequently, an high opprobrium ‡. But the followers of Christ, who were taught, *that we must through much* TRIBULATION *enter into the kingdom of God* §, had the same reason to *glory* in the roughness of the road, as the ancient Agonistæ had in the toils which procured them the victory. This is urged with great address. But the Critics, not taking the Apostle's meaning, have supposed, in their usual way, that he here broke in upon his argument, with an idea foreign to the point in hand.

* Chap. ii. ver. 2, 3. † Rom. v. 1. & seq.
‡ See note [S] at the end of this Book.
§ Acts xiv. 22.

This

This will help us to explain an odd remark of the excellent Maimonides: *That their wise men talked of a thing which was* NOT TO BE FOUND *in the* LAW, *namely, that which some of them call the* CHASTISEMENTS OF LOVE, *by which they meant that* TRIBULATIONS *might befall a man without any precedent sin*, and only in order to multiply his reward. And that this was the very opinion of the Sect called* Muatzal, *of which, or in favour of which opinion, there is not one single word to be found in the Law†.* This seems to have perplexed our Rabbi; and with cause. He lived when his countrymen were under a common providence, and had the doctrine of a future state of rewards and punishments, which, he took for granted, was always in the Jewish Economy. These things disabled him from seeing that—NO CHASTISEMENTS OF LOVE was a necessary consequence of temporal rewards and punishments administered by an equal providence: And likewise that when this sanction ceased, and a future state was known, then CHASTISEMENTS OF LOVE became a necessary consequence.

But if by the LAW, Maimonides did (as the Jews frequently do) include the writings of the Prophets, then he was very much mistaken in saying there is not one word in it concerning the *chastisements of*

* This explanation was necessary; for, another kind of *chastisements of Love* there was in the *Law*, namely, *paternal chastisements*. Thus *Moses: Thou shalt also consider in thine heart, that as a man chasteneth his son, so the Lord thy God chasteneth thee.* Deut. viii. 5.

† Unum tamen occurrit in verbis sapientum nostrorum, quod NON INVENITUR IN LEGE; id nempe, quod quidam eorum dicunt CASTIGATIONES AMORIS. Juxta hanc enim sententiam possunt TRIBULATIONES alicui evenire sine præcedente peccato, sed ut multiplicetur ejus Remuneratio. Atque hæc ipsissima est sententia Sectæ Muatzoli, de qua, aut pro qua, ne verbulum quidem in Lege reperitur. More Nevoch. Buxtorfii, p. 381.

love.

love. For Zechariah, prophesying of a NEW Dispensation, describes this sort of *chastisements* in very express terms: " And I will bring the third part " through the fire, and *will refine them as silver is* " *refined,* and *will try them as gold is tried:* and they " shall call on my name, and I will hear them." So admirably do all the parts of God's grand Economy support one another.

We have seen what testimonies their coeval writers afford of an extraordinary Providence. But we must not suppose the Jews always held the same language. The difference is great between the early and later Jews, even during the existence of the Republic. Take an instance from the Psalmist, and the writer of Ecclesiasticus. The former says, *I have been young, and now am old, yet have I not seen the Righteous forsaken, nor his Seed begging their bread**. The latter—*Look at the* GENERATIONS OF OLD, *and see: Did ever any trust in the Lord and was confounded? Or did any abide in his Fear and was forsaken? Or whom did he ever despise that called upon him*†*?* The Psalmist, living under an *extraordinary* Providence, appeals to his own times; the Author of Ecclesiasticus living when it was long ceased, appeals to former times. But as we have been told, that this talk of a particular Providence is only an Eastern Hyperbole, in which every thing is ascribed to God, I think it not improper to take notice here of one singular circumstance in favour of the Reporters.

We may observe, then, that the spirit of *Gentilism* was always uniform; and, throughout its whole duration, had ever the same unvaried pretensions to divine Intercourse, supported by the same sort of Oracles and Divinations. But amongst the *Jews* matters were

* Psal. xxxvii. 25. † Chap. ii. ver. 10, &c.

on

on another footing. After their perfect settlement, on their return from Captivity (when we know, from the course and progress of God's Economy, that the extraordinary Providence was to cease), we hear no more of their pretences to it, though they now adhered more strictly than ever to the Religion of their forefathers. They made no claim, as we see by the excellent Writer of the first Book of *Maccabees*, either to *Prophets*, *Oracles*, or *extraordinary Dispensations*. When they write unto the *Lacedemonians*, for the renewal of their Alliance, they tell them, at the same time, that they need it not, FOR THAT THEY HAVE THE HOLY BOOKS OF SCRIPTURE IN THEIR HANDS TO COMFORT THEM*. Language very different from their forefathers', when God was wont to send immediate help from the Sanctuary. How ingenuously does the same Historian relate the misfortune of *Bethsura*, caused by the observance of the Sabbatic Year†? A misfortune of which we have no instance before the Captivity; and therefore a plain evidence that the extraordinary Providence was indeed withdrawn. Besides, if we consider the nature of the *Religion*, the genius of the *People*, and the circumstances of the *Time*, we shall find, they all concurred to favour the continuance of a pretension to an extraordinary Providence, had it been *only a pretension*.

1. The *Mosaic Religion*, like the *Pagan*, had a *public part*, and therefore the *Jews* might, with the greatest ease, have still carried on the Superstition of *Oracles*, had their Oracles been indeed a superstition; especially as they were now become so closely attached to their Religion. For when did ever *Greece* or *Italy* confess that their *Oracles* were become *dumb*, till the Consulters had generally forsaken them, and the

* Chap. xii. ver. 9. † 1 Macc. vi. 49.

whole

whole frame of their Religion was falling to pieces? Besides, the practice of this superstition had been as easy as it was commodious; for the Oracular Voice was wont to come from the *Mercy-Seat* behind the *Veil*.

2. The *genius of the People* too would have contributed to the continuance of this claim. For, some how or other, it was become their character *to require a Sign**; and though, now, really superstitious, yet the humour spent itself rather in telling lies of former times †, than in inventing any of their own. This, on a supposition of the human invention of their Law, is altogether unaccountable. But take the matter as we find it in their sacred Books, and nothing is more easy. For if they had indeed been long accustomed to a *miraculous* Dispensation, they would, ever after, be strongly disposed *to require a Sign*; but it would be only such a *Sign* as bore the evident marks of a Divinity; which not being to be had in human inventions, they would be kept safe from delusions, and made sensible of the difference of times: And such was, in fact, their case.

3. Add to all this, that the *time of the Maccabees* was the season of Enthusiasm, when that airy Spirit is at its height; after the national Genius, long sunk by oppression, begins to rise and recover itself to a vindication of public Liberty. And of this we have a signal instance in the person of *Judas Maccabæus* himself; who, in imitation of *Gideon*, would set upon an army of twenty thousand foot and two thousand horse, with only eight hundred straggling desperadoes; which rash and fanatic attempt was followed with the fortune that might, at this time, have been expected ‡.

* 1 Cor. i. 22. † See note [T] at the end of this Book.
‡ 1 Macc. ix. 6.

—In

—In such a season too, artful Leaders are most disposed to support themselves by inspirations; have most need of them; and are thought, by the People, most worthy to receive them.

There is the same difference between the Writers of the New Testament and of the Old, as between the Writers of the several ages of the Old. The Apostles (who worked *Miracles* as well as Moses and the Prophets) represent the followers of CHRIST as under the same *common* Providence with the rest of mankind: Unlike in this, to the first propagators of the LAW, who always declared the Israelites to be under an *extraordinary* Providence.

From all this I conclude, that as amidst the concurrence of so many favourable circumstances, no such claim was made; but that, contrary to the universal practice of all false Religions, the *Jews* saw and owned a great change in the Divine Economy, that therefore their former pretensions to the peculiar protection of Heaven were TRUE.

But it hath been objected, that the early sacred Writers themselves frequently speak of the *inequality of* Providence to *Particulars**: and in such a manner as Men living under a common Providence are accustomed to speak. It is very true that these Writers do now and then give intimations of this *inequality*. And therefore, though we shall hereafter prove an extraordinary *Providence* to have been actually administered, in which, not only this objection

* — Asaph de Dei providentia dubitavit, & fere a vera via deflexisset—Salomon etiam, cujus tempore res Judæorum in summo vigore erant, suspicatur omnia casu contingere—Denique omnibus fere prophetis hoc ipsum valde obscurum fuit, nempe, quomodo ordo naturæ & hominum eventus cum conceptu quem de providentia Dei formaverant, possent convenire.—Spinozæ Theologico-Pol. pp. 73, 74.

will

will be seen to drop of itself, but the particular passages, on which it is founded, will be distinctly considered; yet, for the Reader's satisfaction, it may not be amiss to shew here, that these representations of *inequality* are very consistent with that before given of the extraordinary Providence. We say, therefore,

I. That when the Sacred Writers speak of the *inequalities* of Providence, and the unfit distribution of things, they often mean that state of it amongst their *Pagan* neighbours, and not in *Judea:* As particularly in the Book of *Psalms* and *Ecclesiastes**.

II. We sometimes find men complaining of *inequalities* in events, which were indeed the effects of a most *equal* Providence. Such as the punishment of *Posterity* for the crimes of their *Forefathers*; and of *Subjects* for their *Kings*. Of the first, the Prophet *Ezekiel* gives us an instance in the People's case: *What mean ye, that you use this Proverb concerning the Land of* Israel, *saying, The Fathers have eaten sour grapes, and the Childrens teeth are set on edge*†? —Of the second, *David* gives it in his own; not duly attending to the justice of this proceeding, where he says, *But these Sheep, what have they done*‡? And that he was sometimes too hasty in judging of these matters appears from his own confession: *Behold, these are the ungodly, who prosper in the world, they increase in riches. When I thought to know this, it was too painful for me: until I went into the Sanctuary of God; then understood I their end. Surely thou didst set them in slippery places: thou castedst them down into destruction.—So foolish was I, and ignorant: I was as a beast before thee*§. That is, I understood not the course of thy justice, till I had

* See Appendix.
† Chap. xviii. ver. 2.
‡ 2 Sam. xxiv. 17.
§ Psalm lxxiii. 12—22.

considered the *way* in which an equal Providence must necessarily be administered under a *Theocracy*, and the *consequences* of such an Administration. For,

III. Even admitting the reality of an *equal* Providence to Particulars in the *Hebrew* State, the administration of it must needs be attended with such circumstances as sometimes to occasion those observations of *inequality*. For 1. it appears from the reason of the thing, that this administration did not begin to be exerted in particular cases till the civil Laws of the Republic had failed of their efficacy. Thus where any crime, as for instance disobedience to Parents, was *public*, it became the object of the civil Tribunal, and is accordingly ordered to be punished by the Judge *. But when *private* and secret, then it became the object of Divine vengeance †. Now the consequence of this was, that when the Laws were remissly or corruptly administered, *good* and *ill* would sometimes happen unequally to men. For we are not to suppose that Providence, in this case, generally, interfered till the corrupt administration itself, when ripe for vengeance, had been first punished. 2. In this extraordinary administration, one part of the wicked was sometimes suffered as a scourge to the other. 3. The extraordinary Providence to the State might sometimes clash with that to Particulars, as in the plague for numbering the people. 4. Sometimes the extraordinary Providence was suspended for a season, to bring on a national repentance: But at the same time this suspension was publicly denounced ‡. And a very severe punishment it was, as leaving a State which had not the sanction of a future state of rewards and punishments in a very disconsolate condi-

* Exod. xxi. 15, & 17. † Deut. xxvii. 16. & Prov. xxx. 17.
‡ Isaiah iii. 5\ Chap. lix. ver. 2. Chap. lxiv. ver. 7.

tion.

tion. And this was what occasioned the complaints of the impatient *Jews*, after they had been so long accustomed to an extraordinary administration*.

IV. But the general and full solution of the difficulty is this, The common cause of these complaints arose from the GRADUAL WITHDRAWING the extraordinary Providence. Under the *Judges* it was perfectly equal. And during that period of the *Theocracy*, it is remarkable that we hear of no complaints. When the people had rebelliously demanded a king, and their folly was so far complied with, that God suffered the *Theocracy* to be administered by a *Viceroy*, there was then, as was fitting, a great abatement in the vigour of this *extraordinary* Providence; partly in natural consequence, God being now farther removed from the immediate administration; and partly in punishment of their rebellion. And soon after this it is that we first find them beginning to make their observations and complaints of *inequality*. From hence to the time of the *Captivity*, the *extraordinary* Providence kept gradually decaying, till on their full re-establishment, it intirely ceased †. For what great reasons, besides punishment for their crimes; and what consequences it had on the religious sentiments of the People, will be occasionally explained as we go along.

But now, let it be observed, that though I have here accounted for the *appearances* of an unequal Providence, yet this is *ex abundanti*; the very nature of my general argument evincing, that there must needs have been an equal Providence actually administered: for a People in society, without both a future State and an equal Providence, could have no belief in the moral

* Isaiah v. 19. Jerem. xvii. 15. Amos v. 18. Zeph. i. 12. Malac. ii. 17.

† See note [U] at the end of this Book.

government of God: And under such circumstances, it hath been shewn, that they could not long subsist, but must fall back again into all the confusion of a savage state. We must conclude therefore, that what *appearances* soever there may be of inequality in the administration of Providence, in the early times of the Jewish Theocracy, they are *but appearances:* that is, nothing which can really affect such a mode of administration *. The Adversaries therefore of the *Divine Legation*, such of them, I mean, who profess themselves Believers, should consider that, while they oppose the reality of an *extraordinary* Providence over the Jewish people, they are weakening the evidence for the miracles recorded in the Old Testament. But this is the least of their care. One of them, with an assurance that hath something in it of a prodigy, affirms, "that the Providence administered under the *Law* was exactly the same kind with that administered under the *Gospel*†." How this could be the case, without impeaching the veracity of God himself, as not making good his repeated engagements, this man would do well to consider before he becomes the scorn and contempt of Unbelievers. But as such sort of men bear worse the disgrace of folly than impiety, I shall consider this Portent on its ridiculous side only.

Temporal rewards and punishments administered by the hand of God, followed, as a consequence, from the Jewish Government's being *Theocratical*; and an *extraordinary* Providence followed, as a consequence, from the dispensation of temporal rewards and punishments. Yet here we have a Regius Professor of Divinity affirming, That both *temporal Sanctions* and *an extraordinary Providence* are administered under the *Gospel* in the very same manner they formerly were

* See note [X] at the end of this Book. † Dr. Rutherforth.

under

under the *Law*. In which it is difficult to determine what most to admire; his modesty or his wit. For if it does honour to his wit to maintain conclusions destitute of their premisses, it as strongly recommends his modesty to contradict the whole tenour of the New Testament. But there is neither end nor measure to party-bigotry. Faustus, the Manichean, contended that the Jews and Christians got the doctrine of the one only God from the Gentiles. Is this a wilder fancy than what many modern Divines have asserted, that the Gentiles got the doctrine of future rewards and punishment from the Law of Moses? Or are either of these more extravagant than the folly I am going to expose, namely, That *the temporal sanctions of the* LAW *are transferred into the* GOSPEL? Now, if you should ask whether the Gospel claimed to be a *Theocracy*; I suppose at first, they would say *no*; till they found the advantage you get over them by this answer. And then I make no doubt, they would as readily say *yes*. For what should hinder them? Does the Gospel disclaim, in stronger terms, its being a TEMPORAL KINGDOM, when Christ says, *his kingdom was not of this world*, than it disclaims TEMPORAL SANCTIONS, when it says, *Yea, and all that will live godly in Jesus Christ shall suffer persecution* *, or than it disclaims an *extraordinary providence* where it declares that the Jews had *the promise of the life that now is*, and the Christians *of that which is to come* †?

But not to stretch our conjectures to the lengths these men are disposed to go; let us consider how far they have already gone. They say *the temporal sanctions of the Law are transferred into the Gospel:* and they prove it by these two notable texts:

* 2 Tim. iii. 12. † 1 Tim. iv. 8.

The first is of St. PAUL, "Children, obey your "parents in all things: for this is right. *Honour thy* "*Father and thy Mother* (which is the first com- "mandment with promise) that it may be well with "thee, and thou mayest live long on the earth*." All that I here find *transferred* from the Law to the Gospel, are the *words* of the fifth Commandment. For the Apostle having said, *Children, obey your parents in the Lord: for this is right*; he supports his exhortation by a quotation from the Decalogue; just as any modern preacher, but This, would do, without ever dreaming of *temporal sanctions* in the Gospel; the observation the Apostle makes upon it being in these words—*which is the first commandment with promise*; as much as to say, "You may see from this circumstance, how very acceptable the performance of this duty is, to God:" The only inference which common sense authorizes us to draw from it being what, in another place, he thus expresses,—*Godliness* [or the observance of God's commands] *is profitable unto all things, having the promise of the life that now is* [under the LAW] *and of that which is to come* [under the GOSPEL].

The other colour for this clandestine *transfer* of *temporal sanctions*, is from St. PETER: "Who is he that will harm you, if you be followers of that which is good†?" So says the Apostle; and so too said his Master; to whose words Peter alludes, *Fear not them which kill the body: but rather fear him which is able to destroy body and soul in hell*‡. But as if the Apostle had it in his thoughts to guard against this absurd vision of *temporal sanctions*, he immediately subjoins —"But, and if ye suffer for righteousness sake, happy are ye."

* Eph. vi. 2, 3. † 1 Pet. iii. 13. ‡ Matt. x. 28.

Our

Our Doctor having so well made out this point, we need not wonder at his confidence, when he assures us, *that there is full as good evidence of an extraordinary providence under the Christian Dispensation as under the Jewish.* This though the language of Toland, Tindal, Collins, and the whole tribe of Free-thinkers, yet comes so unexpected from a Regius Professor of Divinity, that we should be very careful not to mistake his meaning.

If, by *full as good*, he would insinuate that an *extraordinary providence* was administered under both Dispensations, I shall be in pain for his intellects: if he would insinuate, that an *extraordinary providence* was administered in neither, I shall be in pain for his Professorship. But he is in pain for nothing; as the reader may perceive by his manner of supporting this impertinent paradox. His proofs follow with equal ease and force.—*I say unto you, that if two of you shall agree on earth, as touching any thing that they shall ask, it shall be done for them of my Father which is in Heaven* *.—*And every one that hath forsaken houses, or brethren, or sisters, or father, or mother, or wife, or children, or lands, for my name's sake, shall receive an hundredfold, and shall inherit everlasting life* †.—*Take therefore no thought saying, What shall we eat? or what shall we drink? or wherewithal shall we be clothed? for your heavenly Father knoweth that you have need of all these things. But seek ye first the Kingdom of God and his righteousness, and all these things shall be added unto you* ‡.—And again, *If ye ask any thing in my name, I will give it* §. —"No more, my most wise Friend? Thou hast my wonder; that's enough. My understanding shall

* Matt. xviii. 19. † Matt. xix. 29.
‡ Matt. vi. 31. & seq. § John xiv. 14.

come after;" said, once on a time, a plain good man to a profound philosopher like this.

Now not to repeat again the illogical bravado of taking and supporting a *conclusion* divorced from its *premisses*; such as is the contending for temporal sanctions and an extraordinary providence where there was no Theocracy, from whence they could be derived; we have here a Professor of Divinity who has his elements of Scripture-interpretation yet to learn. The first rule of which is, 1. "That *all*, does not signify *all simply*, but *all of one kind*; and, of what kind, the context must direct us to determine." When, therefore, the members of Christ's *spiritual Kingdom* are promised they shall obtain *all* they ask, this *all* must needs be confined to *things spiritual*. Now when here we find those, who are bid to leave their temporal possessions and propagate the Gospel, have the promise of a hundredfold, are we to seek for the performance, in Palestine, or in a *better Country**? Again, Where, under the *Law*, we read of *temporal promises*, we read likewise that they were fulfilled. Where, under the GOSPEL, we read that *those who, for the sake of Christ, forsake houses, or brethren, or sisters, or father or mother, or wife or children, or lands, shall receive an hundredfold*; What are we there to look for? For the good things of this world, which this sharp-sighted Doctor is so eager and intent to find?—Now admit there might be no great inconvenience in receiving a hundred *houses* for one; would not a hundred *wives* a little embarrass his Professorship? And as to the *house and land*—Where did he learn that this was literally fulfilled, even to those who had the best title to them if they were literally promised, I mean the APOSTLES, yet these we always meet on foot;

* Heb. xi. 16.

strangers

strangers upon earth; and without either house or home. He, who then passed for a learned Apostle, once at Rome, indeed, got a warm *house* over his head; yet let us not forget that it was but a *hired* one. Here, in this Capital of the World, he received all who came to him. But though a good Divine, as times then went, he never rose to a Regius Professorship.

The second elementary rule of interpretation is, "That all the promises of *extraordinary* blessings, made to the first propagators of the Gospel, are not to be understood as extending to their successors of all Ages, or to the Church in general." To apply this likewise to the thing in question. If it should be admitted that great *temporal blessings* were promised to the first disciples of Christ, it will not follow that their successors had a claim to them, any more than they had to their *spiritual gifts and graces*, such as the power of working miracles, prophesying, speaking with tongues, *&c.* Because as divine Wisdom saw these latter to be necessary for the discharge of their peculiar function; so divine Goodness might be graciously pleased to bestow the Other on them, as the reward of their abundant Faith, and superior Courage in the day of trial, when the Powers of this world were bent on their destruction. But this (blessed be God) is neither the learned Professor's case, nor mine. The worst that has befallen me, in the defence of Religion, is only the railings of the Vile and Impotent: and the worst that is likely to befal him, is only the ridicule of all the rest. Happy had it been for himself, and much happier for his hearers, had our Professor's modesty disposed him rather to seek instruction from those who have gone before, than to impart it to those who are to come after. HOOKER has so admirably exposed

exposed this very specific folly which our Doctor has run into, of arguing against his senses, in making the Dispensation of Providence under the *Mosaic* and *Christian* Economies to be the same, that I cannot do him better service than to transcribe the words of that divine ornament of the English Priesthood:—"Shall "we then hereupon ARGUE EVEN AGAINST OUR OWN "EXPERIENCE AND KNOWLEDGE? Shall we seek to "persuade men that, of necessity, it is with us as it "was with them, that because God is ours, in all "respects as much as theirs, therefore, either no such "way of direction hath been at any time, or if it have "been, it doth *still continue* in the Church? or if the "same do not continue, that yet it must be, at the "least, supplied by some such means as pleaseth us to "account of equal force? A more dutiful and religious "way for us, were to admire the Wisdom of God "which shineth in the beautiful variety of things, but "most in the manifold and yet harmonious dissi-"militude of those ways, whereby his Church upon "earth is guided from age to age throughout all the "generations of men*."

But this was one of the charitable expedients employed to set me right, and to prevent the disgrace of scribbling much to no purpose. However, as in a work of this nature, which partakes so much of the History of the human mind, I may be allowed occasionally, and as it falls in my way, to give as well, examples of its more uncommon degrees of depravity and folly, as of its improvements and excellencies, I shall go on. My constant friend Dr. Stebbing proceeds another way to work, but all for the same good end. He desires me and my reader to consider, "what it "was that Moses undertook; and what was the

* Eccl. Pol. b. iii. sec. 10.

"true

" true end of his Mission. It was to carry the chil-
" dren of Israel out of Egypt, and put them in
" possession of the Land of Canaan, in execution of
" the Covenant made with Abraham. The work in
" the very NATURE of it *required* the administration
" of an *extraordinary* Providence; of which it OUGHT
" THEREFORE TO BE PRESUMED that Moses had
" both the *assurance* and *experience:* otherwise he
" would have engaged in a very MAD undertaking,
" and the people would have been AS MAD in follow-
" ing him. THIS SHORT HINT POINTS OUT THE
" TRUE INTERNAL EVIDENCE of *Moses's Divine*
" *Legation*, and this evidence *has no sort of depen-*
" *dence* upon the belief or disbelief of the doctrine
" of a future state. For supposing (what is the
" truth) that the Israelites did believe it; what could
" this belief effect? It might carry them to Heaven,
" and would do so if they made a proper use of it,
" but it could not put them in possession of the Land
" of Canaan. Mr. Warburton therefore has plainly
" mistaken his point."

This intimation of my mistake is kind: and I should have taken his *hint*, as *short* as it is, but for the following reasons:

1. This *hint* would serve the Mufti full as well, to prove the *Divine Legation of Mahomet:* for thus we may suppose he would argue:—" Mahomet's work was not like Moses's, the subdual of a small tract of Country, possessed by seven Tribes or Nations, with a force of some hundred thousand followers; but the conquest of almost all Asia, with a handful of Banditti. Now *this work*, says the learned Mahometan, *in the very nature of it, required the administration of an extraordinary providence, of which* IT OUGHT THEREFORE TO BE PRESUMED, *that Mahomet had*

both

both the assurance and experience; otherwise he would have engaged in a very mad undertaking, and the people would have been as mad in following him."

Thus hath the learned Doctor taught the Mufti how to reason. The worst of it is, that I, for whom the kindness was principally intended, cannot profit by it, the argument lying exposed to so terrible a retortion. To this the Doctor replies, that the cases are widely different: and that I myself allow them to be different, for that I hold, the Legation of Moses to be a true one; and the Legation of Mahomet, an imposture.—Risum teneatis, Amici!

But there is another reason why I can make nothing of this gracious *hint*. It is because I proposed to PROVE (and not, as he says I ought to have done, TO PRESUME upon) the Divinity of Moses's mission, by an *internal argument*. Indeed he tells me, that if I be for *proving*, he has *pointed out* such a one to me. He says so, 'tis true: but in so saying, he only shews his ignorance of what is meant by an INTERNAL ARGUMENT. An internal argument is such a one as takes for its medium some notorious Fact, or circumstance, in the frame and constitution of a Religion, *not in contest*; and from thence, by necessary consequence, deduces the truth of a fact supported by testimony which *is in contest*. Thus, from the notorious Fact of the omission of a future State in Moses's institution of Law and Religion, I deduce his *Divine Legation*.

But the learned Artist himself seems conscious that the ware he would put into my hands is indeed no better than a counterfeit piece of trumpery; and so far from being an *internal argument*, that it is no argument at all: For he tells us, IT OUGHT THEREFORE TO BE PRESUMED, *that Moses had both the*

assurance and experience that God governed the Israelites by an extraordinary Providence.

But what follows is such unaccountable jargon!—*For supposing the Israelites did believe a future State, what would this belief effect? It might carry them to Heaven, but it could not put them in possession of the land of Canaan.* This looks as if the learned Doctor had supposed that, from the truth of this assertion, *That no civil Society under a common Providence could subsist without a future state*, I had inferred, that, *with a future state*, Society would be able to work wonders.—What efficacy a future state hath, whether little or much, affects not my argument any otherwise than by the oblique tendency it hath to support the reasoning: and I urged it thus;—"Had not the Jews been under an *extraordinary Providence*, at that period when Moses led them out to take possession of the land of Canaan, they were most unfit to bear the want of the doctrine of a *future state*:" Which observation I supported by the case of Odin's followers, and Mahomet's; who, in the same circumstances of making conquests, and seeking new habitations, had this Doctrine sedulously inculcated to them, by their respective Leaders. And the histories of both these Nations inform us, that nothing so much contributed to the rapidity of their successes as the enthusiasm which that Doctrine inspired.

And yet, to be sure, the Doctor never said a livelier thing, who is celebrated for saying many, than when he asked,—*What could this belief effect? It might carry them to Heaven; but it could not put them in possession of the Land of Canaan.* Now unluckily, like most of these witty things, when too nearly inspected, we find it to be just the reverse of the truth. The *belief* could never *carry them to Heaven*, and

yet

yet was abundantly sufficient, under such a leader as Moses, *to put them in possession of the land of Canaan.* The Arabians' *belief* of a future state could never, in the opinion at least of our orthodox Doctor, carry them to Heaven; yet he must allow it enabled them to take and keep possession of a great part of Europe and Asia. But the Doctor's head was running on the efficacy of the *Christian Faith*, when he talked of *belief carrying men to heaven.*—Yet who knows, but when he gave the early Jews the knowledge of a *future state*, he gave them the *Christian faith* into the bargain?

SECT. V.

THUS we see that an EXTRAORDINARY PROVIDENCE WAS THE NECESSARY CONSEQUENCE OF A THEOCRACY; and that this Providence is represented in Scripture to have been really administered. TEMPORAL REWARDS AND PUNISHMENTS, therefore, (the effects of this providence) and *not future*, MUST NEEDS BE THE SANCTION of their Law and Religion.

Having thus prepared the ground, and laid the foundation, I go on to shew that future Rewards and Punishments, which COULD NOT BE THE SANCTION of the Mosaic Dispensation, WERE NOT TAUGHT in it at all: and that, in consequence of this Omission, the PEOPLE had not the doctrine of a future state for many ages. And here my arguments will be chiefly directed against the believing part of my opponents; no Deist*, that I know of, ever pretending that the doctrine of a future state was to be found in the Law.

Moses delivered to the Israelites a complete Digest of Law and Religion: but, to fit it to the nature of a

* See note [Y] at the end of this Book.

Theocratic

Theocratic Government, he gave it perfectly incorporated. And, for the observance of the intire Institution, he added the sanction of rewards and punishments: both of which we have shewn to be necessary for the support of a Republic: and yet, that civil Society, as such, can administer only one*.

Now in the Jewish Republic, both the rewards and punishments promised by heaven were TEMPORAL only. Such as health, long life, peace, plenty, and dominion, &c. Diseases, immature death, war, famine, want, subjection, and captivity, &c. And in no one place of the Mosaic Institutes is there the least mention, or any intelligible hint, of the rewards and punishments of another life.

When SOLOMON had restored the integrity of Religion; and, to the regulated purity of Worship, had added the utmost magnificence; in his DEDICATION of the new-built Temple, he addresses a long prayer to the God of Israel, consisting of one solemn petition for the continuance of the OLD COVENANT made by the ministry of Moses. He gives an exact account of all its parts, and explains at large the SANCTION of the Jewish Law and Religion. And here, as in the writings of Moses, we find nothing but TEMPORAL rewards and punishments; without the least hint or intimation of a future state.

The holy PROPHETS speak of no other. Thus Isaiah: "Then shall he give the rain of thy seed that "thou shalt sow the ground withal, and bread of the "increase of the earth, and it shall be fat and plen-"teous; and in that day shall thy cattle feed in large "pastures.—And there shall be upon every high "mountain, and upon every high hill, rivers and "streams of water†." And Jeremiah: "I will

* *i. e.* Punishments. See Vol. I. p. 210. † Ch. xxx. ver. 23. 25.

"surely

" surely consume them, saith the Lord; there shall " be no grapes on the vine, nor figs on the fig-tree, " and the leaf shall fade, and the things that I have " given them shall pass away from them.—I will send " serpents and cockatrices amongst you, which will " not be charmed, and they shall bite you, saith the " Lord *." Nay so little known, in these times, was any other kind of rewards and punishments to the Jewish People, that, when the Prophets foretell that NEW Dispensation, by which, *life and immortality were brought to light*, they express even those future rewards and punishments under the image of the present. Thus Zechariah, prophesying of the times of CHRIST, describes the punishment attendant on a refusal of the terms of Grace, under the ideas of the Jewish Economy: " And it shall be that whoso will " not *come up* of *all the families of the earth* unto " *Jerusalem*, to worship the *King* the Lord of Hosts, " even upon them SHALL BE NO RAIN †." I would have those men well consider this, who persist in thinking " that the early Jews had the doctrine of a future state of rewards and punishments, though Moses taught it not expressly to them;" and then tell me why Zechariah, when prophesying of the Gospel-times, should chuse to express these *future* rewards and punishments under the image of the *present?*

Indeed, were it not for the amazing prejudices which have obtained on this subject, a writer's pains to shew that a future state of rewards and punishments made no part of the Mosaic Dispensation, would appear as absurd to every intelligent reader, as his would be who should employ many formal arguments to prove that Sir Isaac Newton's *Theory of Light and Colours* is not to be found in Aristotle's books *de Cælo & de*

* Chap. viii. ver. 13. 17. † Chap. xiv. ver. 17.

Coloribus.

Coloribus. I will therefore for once presume so much on the privilege of Common Sense, as to suppose, the impartial reader may be now willing to confess, that the doctrine of Life and Immortality was not yet known to a people while they were *sitting in darkness, and in the region and shadow of death**; and go on to other matters that have more need to be explained.

II.

I shall shew then, in the next place, that this OMISSION was not accidental; or of a thing which Moses did not well understand: but that, on the contrary, it was a designed omission; and of a thing well known by him to be of high importance to Society.

I. That the doctrine of a future state of Rewards and Punishments was studiously omitted, may appear from several circumstances in the book of Genesis. For the history of Moses may be divided into two periods; from the Creation to his Mission; and from his Mission to the delivering up his command to Joshua: The first was written by him in quality of HISTORIAN; the second, of LEGISLATOR; in both of which he preserves an equal silence concerning the doctrine of a future state.

1. In the history of the *Fall of Man*, it is to be observed, that he mentions only the instrument of the agent, the SERPENT; not the agent himself, the DEVIL: and the reason is plain; there was a close connexion between that agency,—The spiritual effects of the Fall,—the work of Redemption,—and the doctrine of a future State. If you say, the connexion was not so close but that the Agent might have been mentioned without any more of his history than the temptation to the *Fall*; I reply, it is true it might;

* Matt. iv. 16.

but not without danger of giving countenance to the impious doctrine of *Two Principles*, which at this time prevailed throughout the Pagan world. What but these important considerations could be the cause of the omission*? when it is so evident that the knowledge of this grand enemy of our welfare would have been the likeliest cure of Pagan superstitions, as teaching men to esteem of Idolatry no otherwise than as a mere diabolical illusion. And in fact we find, that when the Israelites were taught, by the later Prophets, to consider it in this light, we hear no more of their Idolatries. Hence we see, that the folly of those, who, with *Collins*, would have a mere serpent only to be understood, is just equal to theirs, who, with the *Cabalists*, would have that serpent a mere Allegory.

2. In the history of Enoch's *translation*† to Heaven‡, there is so studied an obscurity, that several of the Rabbins, as Aben Ezra and Jarchi, fond as they are of finding a future state in the Pentateuch, interpret this translation as only signifying an immature death. *And Enoch walked with God, and he was not, for God took him.* How different from the other history of the translation of Elijah! "And it came to "pass when the Lord would take up Elijah into "Heaven by a whirlwind, that Elijah went with "Elisha from Gilgal, &c.—And it came to pass as "they still went on and talked, that behold there "appeared a chariot of fire, and horses of fire, and "parted them both asunder, and Elijah went up with "a whirlwind into Heaven§." But the reason of this difference is evident: When the latter history was written, it was thought expedient to make a preparation

* See note [Z] at the end of this Book.

† Gen. v. 24. ‡ Heb. xi. 5. § 2 Kings ii. 1, 11.

for

for the dawning of a *future state* of reward and punishment, which in the time of Moses had been highly improper. The reflections of an eminent Critic on this occasion, will shew how little he penetrated into the true design of this Economy. "Mirum est Mosem "rem tantam, si modo immortalem Henochum factum "CREDIDIT, tam obiter, tamque obscure, quasi EAM "LATERE VELLET, perstrinxisse. Fortè cum hæc "ex antiquissimis monumentis exscriberet, nihil præter "ea quæ nobis tradidit invenit, quibus aliquid adjicere "religio fuit*." For Moses both knew and *believed* the Immortality of Enoch, and purposely obscured the fact, from whence it might have been collected. But what is most singular in this reflection is, that the learned Commentator, to aggravate the obscurity, says it *is as obscure, as if he purposely designed to hide it*, supposing such a design to be the highest improbability; which was indeed the fact, and is the true solution of the difficulty.

3. In his history of the Patriarchs, he entirely omits, or throws into shade, the accounts of those Revelations, with which, as we learn from the writers of the New Testament, some of them were actually favoured, concerning the Redemption of mankind. Of these favours we shall give ere long a great and noble instance, in the case of ABRAHAM, who, as we are assured by JESUS himself, *rejoiced to see* CHRIST's *day, and saw it, and was glad.*

From whence therefore could all this studied caution arise, but to keep out of sight that doctrine, which, for ends truly worthy of the divine Wisdom, he had omitted in his Institutes of Law and Religion? This shews the weakness of that evasion, which would reconcile the OMISSION, to the People's KNOWLEDGE

* Vid. *Clericum* in Gen. v. 24.

of the doctrine, by supposing they had been so well instructed by the Patriarchs, that Moses had no occasion to say any thing farther on that subject.

Let me observe by the way, that these considerations are more than a thousand topical arguments, to prove that Moses was the real author of the book of Genesis. But the proof deduced therefrom will be drawn out and explained at large hereafter.

II. That the importance of this Doctrine to Society was well understood by Moses, may appear from a particular provision in his Institutes (besides that general one of an extraordinary providence), evidently made to oppose to the inconvenient consequences of the OMISSION.

We have shewn at large, in the first three books, that under a common or unequal providence, civil Government could not be supported without a Religion teaching a future state of reward and punishment. And it is the great purpose of this work to prove, that the Mosaic Religion wanting that doctrine, the Jews must REALLY have enjoyed that equal providence, under which holy Scripture represents them to have lived: and then, no transgressor escaping punishment, nor any observer of the law missing his reward*, human affairs might be kept in good order, without the doctrine of a future State.

Yet still the violence of irregular passions would make some men of stronger complexions superior to all the fear of *personal temporal evil.* To lay hold therefore on These, and to gain a due ascendant over the most determined, the punishments, in this institution, are extended to the POSTERITY of wicked men; which the instinctive fondness of Parents to their offspring would make terrible even to those who

* See note [AA] at the end of this Book.

had

had hardened themselves into an insensibility of personal punishment: *I the Lord thy God am a jealous God, visiting the iniquity of the Fathers upon the Children unto the third and fourth generation of them that hate me* *.

Now that this punishment was only to supply the want of a *Future state*, is evident from hence †: Towards the conclusion of this extraordinary Economy, when GOD, by the later Prophets, reveals his purpose of giving them a NEW *Dispensation* ‡, in which a Future state of reward and punishment was to be *brought to light*, it is then declared in the most express manner, that he will abrogate the Law of punishing Children for the crimes of their Parents. JEREMIAH, speaking of this *new* Dispensation, says: "In "*those days* they shall say no more, The Fathers "have eaten a sour grape, and the Children's teeth "are set on edge: but every *one shall die for his own* "*iniquity*, every man that eateth the sour grape, his "teeth shall be set on edge. Behold the days come, "saith the Lord, that I will make a NEW COVENANT "with the House of Israel,—NOT according to the "Covenant that I made with their Fathers in the day "that I took them by the hand to bring them out of "the land of Egypt §," *&c.* And EZEKIEL, speaking of the same times, says: "I will give them one "heart, and will put a NEW spirit within you, *&c.* "—But as for them, whose heart walketh after the "heart of their abominable things—*I will recompense* "*their way* UPON THEIR OWN HEADS, saith the "Lord God ‖." And again: "What mean ye, that "you use this Proverb concerning the land of Israel, "saying, The Fathers have eaten sour grapes, and

* See Note [BB.] † Note [CC.] ‡ Note [DD] at the end.
§ Chap. xxxi. 29—33. ‖ Chap. xi. ver. 19—21.

" the Children's teeth are set on edge*? As I live, " saith the Lord God, Ye shall *not have occasion any* " *more to use this Proverb in Israel.* Behold all souls " are mine; as the soul of the Father, so also the soul " of the Son is mine: *the soul that sinneth, it shall* " *die* †."

And yet (to shew more plainly that the *abrogation* of the Law was solely owing to this *new* Dispensation) the same Prophets, when their subject is the *present* Jewish Economy, speak of this very Law as still in force. Thus JEREMIAH: " Thou shewest loving- " kindness unto thousands, and *recompensest the ini-* " *quity of the Fathers into the bosom of their Children* " after them ‡." And HOSEA: " *Seeing thou hast* " *forgotten the Law of thy God, I will also forget thy* " *Children* §."

From all this I conclude, That, whoever was the real Author of what goes under the name of the *Law of Moses*, was at least well acquainted with the *importance* of the doctrine of a future state of reward and punishment; and provided well for the *want* of it.

But the blindness of Infidelity is here most deplorable. The Deists are not content with condemning this Law of injustice, but will accuse the Dispensation itself of inconsistence; pretending that the Prophets have directly contradicted Moses in their manner of denouncing punishment.

It is indeed the standing triumph of infidelity. *But let us return* (says SPINOZA) *to the Prophets, whose discordant opinions we have undertaken to lay open— The* xviiith *chap. of* EZEKIEL *does not seem to agree with the* 7th ver. *of the* xxxivth *chap. of* EXODUS, *nor with the* 18th ver. *of the* xxxiid chap. of JEREMIAH,

* See note [EE] at the end of this Book. † Chap. xviii. ver. 2—4.
‡ Chap. xxxii. ver. 18. § Chap. iv. ver. 6.

MIAH, &c.* — "There are several mistakes (says "TINDAL) crept into the Old Testament, where "there's scarce a chapter which gives any historical "account of matters, but there are some things in it "which could not be there originally.—It must be "owned, that the same spirit (I dare not call it a "spirit of cruelty) does not alike prevail throughout "the Old Testament; the nearer we come to the "times of the Gospel, the milder it appears: for "though God declares in the Decalogue, that he is "*a jealous God, visiting the iniquity of the parents* "*upon the children to the third and fourth Genera-*"*tion*, and accordingly Achan, with all his family, "was destroyed for his single crime; yet the Lord "afterwards says, *The soul that sinneth it shall* "*die; the son shall not bear the iniquity of the* "*father* †," &c ‡.

I. Let us see then what these men have to say on the first point, the *injustice of the Law*. They set out on a false supposition, that this method of punishment was part of an universal Religion given by God as the Creator and Governor of mankind: whereas it is only part of a civil Institute, given by him to *one People*, as their *tutelary God* and *civil Governor*. Now we know it to be the practice of all States to punish the crime of Lese Majesty in this manner. And to render it just, no more is required than that it was in the compact (as it certainly was here) on men's free entrance into Society.

* — Sed ad Prophetas revertamur, quorum discrepantes opiniones etiam notare suscepimus.—Cap. saltem xviii. Ezech. non videtur convenire cum versu 7. cap. xxxiv. Exod. nec cum ver. 18. Cap. xxxii. Jer. &c. Tract. Theologico-Pol. pp. 27, 28.

† *Christianity as old as the Creation*, pp. 240, 241.

‡ See note [FF] at the end of this Book.

When a *guilty* Posterity suffered for the crimes of their Parents, they were deprived of their natural unconditional rights; when an *innocent*, they only forfeited their conditional and civil: But as this method of punishment was administered with more lenity in the Jewish Republic, so it was with infinitely more rectitude, than in any other. For although God allowed capital punishment to be inflicted for the crime of *lese majesty*, on the *Person of the offender*, by the delegated administration of the Law; yet concerning his *Family* or *Posterity* he reserved the inquisition of the crime to himself, and expressly forbid the Magistrate to meddle with it, in the common course of justice. *The Fathers shall not be put to death for the Children, neither shall the Children be put to death for the Fathers: every man shall be put to death for his own sin**. And we find the Magistrate careful not to intrench on this part of God's jurisdiction. We are told, that as soon as Amaziah the son of Joash king of Judah became firmly established in the throne, *He slew his servants which had slain the King his Father. But the* CHILDREN *of the murderers he slew not: according unto that which is written in the book of the law of Moses* [Deut. xxiv. 16.] *wherein the Lord commanded saying, The Fathers shall not be put to death for the Children*†, &c. Yet such hath been the perversity or stupidity of Freethinking, that this very text itself hath been charged with contradicting the xxth chapter of EXODUS. Now God's appropriating to himself the execution of the Law in question would abundantly justify the equity of it, even supposing it had been given by him as part of an *universal religion*. For why was the Magistrate forbidden to imitate God's method of punishing, but

* Deut. xxiv. 16. † 2 Kings xiv. 5, 6.

because

because no power less than omniscient could, in all cases, keep clear of injustice in such an inquisition?

But God not only reserved this method of punishment to himself, but has graciously condescended to inform us, by his Prophets, *after what manner* he was pleased to administer it. YOUR INIQUITIES (says he) AND THE INIQUITIES OF YOUR FATHERS TOGETHER, *which have burnt incense upon the mountains, and blasphemed me upon the hills: therefore will I measure their former work into their bosom**. And again: "But ye say, Why? doth not the Son "bear the iniquity of the Father? When the Son hath "done that which is lawful and right, and hath kept "all my statutes, and hath done them, he shall surely "live.—But when the Righteous turneth away from "his righteousness and committeth iniquity—shall he "live †?"

So much for that case in which the Posterity were *iniquitous*, and suffered punishment, in the strict and proper sense of the word. But doubtless, an innocent Posterity were sometimes punished, according to the denunciation of this Law, for the crimes of their wicked Fathers ‡; as is done by modern States, in attaint of blood and confiscation: and this, with the highest equity in both cases.

In our Gothic Constitutions, the throne being the fountain of honour and source of property, *Lands* and *Titles* descend *from it*, and were held as FIEFS *of it*, under perpetual obligation of military and civil services. Hence the LAWS OF FORFEITURE for high

* Isaiah lxv. 7.

† Ezek. xviii. 19 & 24. And see note [GG] at the end.

‡ This appears from the rise of that proverb in Israel, *The Fathers have eaten sour grapes, and the Children's teeth are set on edge.*

treason,

treason *, the most violent breach of the condition on which those *fiefs* were granted. Nor was there any injustice in the forfeiture of what was acquired by no natural right, but by civil compact, how much soever the confiscation might affect an innocent posterity.

The same principles operated under a Theocracy. God supported the Israelites in Judea, by an extraordinary administration of his providence. The consequence of which were great temporal blessings to which they had no natural claim; given them on condition of obedience. Nothing therefore could be more equitable than, on the violation of that condition, to withdraw those extraordinary blessings from the Children of a Father thus offending. How then can the Deist charge this Law with injustice? since a Posterity when *innocent* was affected only in their civil conditional rights; and, when deprived of those which were natural and unconditional, were always guilty.

From all this it appears, that the excellent GROTIUS himself had a very crude and imperfect notion of the whole matter, when he resolved the justice of it intirely into God's sovereign right over his creatures. "Deus quidem in lege Hebræis data paternam im-"pietatem in posteros se vindicaturum minatur: sed "ipse Jus Dominii plenissimum habet, ut in res nos-"tras, ita in vitam nostram, ut munus suum, quod "sine ulla causa & quovis tempore auferre cuivis, "quando vult, potest †."

II. As to the second point, the charge of *Contradiction in the Dispensation*, we now see, that, on the contrary, these different declarations of God's manner

* See note [HH] at the end of this Book.

† *De Jure Bel. & Pac.* vol. ii. p. 593. Ed. Barbeyrac, Amst. 1720.

of

of punishing in two so distant periods, are the MOST DIVINE INSTANCE of constancy and uniformity in the manifestations of eternal Justice: So far are they from any indication of a *milder or severer Spirit*, as Tindal with equal insolence and folly hath objected to Revelation. For while a *future state* was kept hid from the Jews, there was absolute need of such a Law to restrain the more daring Spirits, by working on their instincts; or, as Cicero expresses it—ut caritas liberorum amiciores Parentes Reipublicæ redderet. But when a doctrine was *brought to light* which held them up, and continued them after death, the objects of divine justice*, it had then no farther use; and was therefore reasonably to be abolished with the rest of the judicial Laws, peculiar to the Mosaic Dispensation. But these men have taken it into their heads (and what comes slowly in, will go slowly out) that it was repealed for its *injustice*; though another reason be as plainly intimated by the Prophets, as the circumstances of those times would permit; and so plainly by JEREMIAH, that none but such heads could either not see or not acknowledge it. In his thirty-first chapter, foretelling the advent of the NEW Dispensation, he expressly says, this Law shall be revoked: IN THOSE DAYS *they shall say no more, The Fathers have eaten a sour grape, and the Children's teeth are set on edge. But every one shall die for his own iniquity* †. Yet, in the very next chapter, speaking of the OLD Dispensation, under which they then lived, he as expressly declares the Law to be still in force. *When I had delivered the evidence of the purchase unto Baruch, I prayed unto the Lord, saying,—Thou shewest loving-kindness unto thousands, and recompensest the iniquity of the fathers into the bosom of their*

* See note [II] at the end of this Book. † Ver. 29, 30.

children

*children after them**. Is this like a man who had forgot himself, or who suspected the Law of cruelty or injustice?

But the ignorance of Free-thinking was here unaffected; and indeed the more excusable, as the matter had of old perplexed both Jews and Christians. The Synagogue was so scandalized at EZEKIEL's Declarations against this mode of punishment, that they deliberated a long time whether he should not be thrown out of the Canon, for contradicting MOSES in so open a manner †. And Sentence had at last past upon him, but that one *Chananias* promised to reconcile the two Prophets. How he kept his word, is not known, for there is nothing of his extant upon the subject; only we are told that he approved himself a man of honour, and, with great labour and study, at length did the business ‡.

ORIGEN was so perplexed with the different assertions § of these two Prophets, that he could find no better way of reconciling them than by having recourse to his *allegorical* fanaticism, and supposing the words of the first to be a Parable or Mystic speech; which, however, he would not pretend to decipher. The learned Father, having quoted some pagan Oracles intimating that Children were punished for the

* Ver. 16 & 18.

† Les Juifs disent qu' Ezechiel etoit serviteur de Jérémie, & que le Sanhedrin delibera long-tems, si l'on rejetteroit son Livre du Canon des Ecritures. Le sujet de leur chagrin contre ce Prophete vient de son extreme obscurité, & de ce qu'il enseigne diverses choses contraires à Moise—Ezechiel, disent-ils, a declaré, *Que le fils ne porteroit plus l'iniquité de son pere*, contre ce que Moise dit expressement, *Que le Seigneur venge l'iniquité des Peres sur les Enfans, jusqu'à la troisieme & quatrieme generation.* Calmet, Dissert. vol. ii. p. 361.

‡ See note [KK] at the end of this Book.

§ Exod. xx. Ezek. xviii.

crimes

crimes of their Forefathers, goes on in this manner: " How much more equitable is what our Scriptures " say on this point: *The Fathers shall not be put to* " *death for the Children, neither shall the Children* " *be put to death for the Fathers: every man shall* " *be put to death for his own sin,* DEUT. xxiv. 16, " &c.—But if any one should object that this verse " of the oracle,

" *On the Children's Children and their Posterity;*

" is very like what Scripture says, that GOD *visits* " *the iniquity of the Fathers upon the Children unto* " *the third and fourth Generation of them that hate* " *him,* EXOD. xx. 5. he may learn from *Ezekiel* that " those words are a PARABLE; for the Prophets re- " prove such as say, *The Fathers have eaten sour* " *Grapes, and the Children's teeth are set on edge;* " and then it follows: *As I live, saith the Lord,* " *every one shall die for his own sins only.* But this " is not the place to explain what is meant by the " PARABLE of *visiting iniquity unto the third and* " *fourth generation**." There could hardly be more mistakes in so few words. The two texts in Deuteronomy and Exodus, which Origen represents as treating of the same subject, treat of subjects very different: the first, as we have shewn above, concerns the Magistrate's execution of the Law; the other,

* Ὅρα δὲ ὅσῳ τούτου βέλτιον τὸ, Οὐκ ἀποθανεῖται, &c. ἐὰν δέ τις ὅμοιον εἶναι λέγῃ τῷ

Ἐς παίδων παῖδας οἳ καὶ ὄπισθεν γένωνται,

τὸ, Ἀποδιδοὺς ἁμαρτίας πατέρων ἐπὶ τέκνα, ἐπὶ τρίτην καὶ τετάρτην γενεὰν τοῖς μισοῦσί [με·] μαθέτω, ὅτι ἐν τῷ Ἰεζεκιὴλ παραβολὴ τὸ τοιοῦτον εἶναι λέλεκται, αἰτιωμένων τοὺς λέγοντας, Οἱ πατέρες ἔφαγον ὄμφακα, καὶ αἱ ὀδόντες τῶν τέκνων ἠμωδίασαν· ᾧ ἐπιφέρεται, Ζῶ ἐγὼ, λέγει Κύριος, ἀλλ' ἢ ἕκαστος τῇ ἑαυτοῦ ἁμαρτίᾳ ἀποθανεῖται. Οὐ καλὸς τόνδε παρόντα δὲ καιρὸν ἐστι, διηγήσασθαι τί σημαίνει ἡ περὶ τοῦ τρίτην καὶ τετάρτην γενεὰν ἀποδιδόσθαι τὰς ἁμαρτίας παραβολή. Cont. Cels. p. 403.

that

that which God reserves to himself. Again, because the text of Exodus apparently occasioned the Proverb mentioned by Ezekiel and Jeremiah, therefore by a strange blunder or prevarication, the Father brings the Proverb in proof that the Law which gave birth to it, was but a Proverb or *parable* itself *.

II.

We have now shewn that MOSES did not teach a future state of reward and punishment; and that he omitted it with design; that he understood its great importance to society; and that he provided for the want of it. And if we may believe a great Statesman and Philosopher, "Moses had need of every SANC-"TION that his knowledge or his imagination could "suggest to govern the unruly people, to whom he "gave a Law, in the name of God †."

But as the proof of this point is only for the sake of its consequence, that *therefore the people had not the knowledge of that doctrine*, our next step will be to establish this consequence: Which (if we take in those circumstances attending the *Omission*, just explained above) will, at the same time, shew my argument in support of this *Omission* to be more than *negative*.

Now though one might fairly conclude, that the People's not having this Doctrine, was a necessary consequence of Moses's not teaching it, in a Law which forbids the least addition ‡ to the written Institute; yet I shall show, from a circumstance, the clearest and most incontestable, that the Israelites, from the time of Moses to the time of their Captivity,

* See note [LL] at the end of this Book.

† *Bolingbroke's Works*, vol. v. p. 513.

‡ Deut. iv. 2. Chap. xii. ver. 32.

had

had not the doctrine of a future state of reward and punishment.

The BIBLE contains a very circumstantial History of this People throughout the aforesaid period. It contains not only the history of public occurrences, but the lives of private persons of both sexes, and of all ages, conditions, characters and complexions; in the adventures of Virgins, Matrons, Kings, Soldiers, Scholars, Merchants, and Husbandmen. All these, in their turns, make their appearance before us. They are given too in every circumstance of life; captive, victorious; in sickness, and in health; in full security, and amidst impending dangers; plunged in Civil business, or retired and sequestered in the service of Religion. Together with their Story, we have their Compositions likewise. Here they sing their triumphs; there, their palinodia. Here, they offer up to the Deity their hymns of praise; and there, petitions for their wants: here, they urge their moral precepts to their contemporaries; and there, they treasure up their Prophecies and Predictions for posterity; and to both denounce the promises and threatenings of Heaven. Yet in none of these different circumstances of life, in none of these various casts of composition, do we ever find them acting on the motives, or influenced by the prospect of future rewards and punishments; or indeed expressing the least hope or fear, or even common curiosity concerning them. But every thing they do or say respects the present life only; the good and ill of which are the sole objects of all their pursuits and aversions *.

Hear then the sum of all. The sacred Writings are extremely various both in their subject, style, and composition. They contain an account of the

* See note [MM] at the end of this Book.

Creation,

Creation, and Origine of the human race; the history of a private Family, of a chosen People, and of exemplary men and women. They consist of hymns and petitions to the Deity, precepts of civil life, and religious Prophecies and Predictions. Hence I infer that as, amidst all this variety of writing, the Doctrine of a future state never once appears to have had any share in this People's thoughts; it never did indeed make part of their Religious opinions*. And when, to all this, we find their *occasional* reasoning only conclusive on the supposition that a future state was not amongst the Religious doctrines of the People, the above considerations, if they needed any, would receive the strongest support and confirmation. To give one example out of many. The Psalmist says, *For the rod of the Wicked shall not rest upon the lot of the Righteous: lest the Righteous put forth their hands unto iniquity*†." That is, "God will vigorously administer that *extraordinary Providence* which the nature of the Dispensation required to be administered, lest the Righteous, not seeing themselves exempt from the evils due to wickedness, should conclude that there was no moral Governor of the world; and so, by making their own private interest the rule of their actions, fall into the practice of all kind of iniquity." But this could never be the consequence where an unequal dispensation of Providence was attended with the knowledge and belief of a future state. And here I will appeal to those who are most prejudiced against this reasoning. Let them speak, and tell me, if they were now first shewn some history of an old Greek Republic, delivered in the form and manner of the Jewish, and no more notice in it of a future state, Whether they could possibly believe that

* See note [NN] at the end of this Book. † Ps. cxxv. 3.

that Doctrine was National, or generally known in it. If they have the least ingenuity, they will answer, They could not. On what then do they support their opinion here, but on religious Prejudices? Prejudices of no higher an original than some Dutch or German System: for, as to the BIBLE, one half of it is silent concerning *life and immortality*; and the other half declares that the doctrine was *brought to light through the Gospel.*

But to set this argument in its fullest light. Let us consider the History of the rest of mankind, whether recorded by Bards, or Statesmen; by Philosophers, or Priests: in which we shall find the *doctrine of a future state* still bearing, throughout all the various circumstances of human life, a constant and principal share in the determinations of the Will. And no wonder. We see how strong the Grecian world thought the sanction of it to be, by a passage in Pindar, quoted by Plutarch in his tract of *Superstition*, where he makes it one circumstance of the superior happiness of the Gods, over men, that they stood not in fear of Acheron.

But not to be distracted by too large a view, let us select from the rest of the Nations, one or two most resembling the Jewish. Those which came nearest to them (and, if the Jews were only under human guidance, indeed extremely near), were the SUEVI of the north, and the ARABS of the south. Both these People were led out in search of new Possessions, which they were to win by the sword. And both, it is confessed, had the doctrine of *a Future state* inculcated unto them by their leaders, ODIN and MAHOMET. Of the Arabs we have a large and circumstantial history: Of the Suevi we have only some few fragments of the songs and ballads of their Bards;

yet they equally serve to support our Conclusion. In the large history of the Saracen Empire we can scarce find a page, and in the Runic rhymes of the Suevi scarce a line, where the doctrine of a future state was not pushing on its influence. It was their constant Viaticum through life; it stimulated them to war and slaughter, and spirited their songs of triumph; it made them insensible of pain, immoveable in danger, and superior to the approach of death*. For, what Cicero says of Poetry in Rome, may be more truly applied to the Doctrine of a Future state amongst these Barbarians; "Ceteræ neque temporum sunt, "neque ætatum omnium, neque locorum. Hæc "studia adolescentiam alunt, senectutem oblectant, "secundas res ornant, ADVERSIS PERFUGIUM AC "SOLATIUM PRÆBENT†."

But this is not all. For we find, that when a future state became a popular doctrine amongst the Jewish People (the time and occasion of which will be explained hereafter) that then it made as considerable a figure in their Annals, by influencing their determinations‡, as it did in the history of any other people.

Nor is it only on the silence of the sacred Writers, or of the speakers they introduce, that I support this conclusion; but from their positive declarations; in which they plainly discover that there was no popular expectation of a future state, or Resurrection. Thus the woman of Tekoah to David: *For we must needs die, and are as water spilt on the ground, which cannot be gathered up again*§. Thus Job: *As the cloud is consumed, and vanisheth away: so he that goeth down to the grave shall come up no more*‖. And

* See note [OO] at the end of this Book.

† *Pro Archia Poeta*, § 7. ‡ See the 2d book of Maccabees.

§ 2 Sam. xiv. 14. ‖ See note [PP] at the end of this Book.

again:

again: "There is hope of a tree, if it be cut down, "that it will sprout again—though the root thereof "wax old in the earth, and the stock thereof die in "the ground, yet through the scent of water, it will "bud and bring forth boughs like a plant. But man "dieth and wasteth away: yea, man giveth up the "ghost, and where is he? As the waters fall from the "sea, and the flood decayeth and drieth up: so man "lieth down and riseth not till the Heavens be no "more, they shall not awake nor be raised out of "their sleep*." Here the Jewish Writer, for such he was, as shall be shewn hereafter (and might, indeed, be understood to be such from this declaration alone) opposes the revival of a *vegetable* to the irrecoverable death of a rational *animal*. Had he known as much as St. Paul, he had doubtless used that circumstance in the *vegetable* world (as St. Paul did) to prove analogically, the revival of the rational *animal*.

The Psalmist says, *In death there is no remembrance of thee: in the grave who shall give thee thanks*†*?* And again: *What profit is there in my blood, when I go down to the pit? Shall the dust praise thee, shall it declare thy truth*‡*?* And again: "Wilt thou shew wonders to the dead? Shall the "dead ARISE and praise thee? Shall thy loving kind-"ness be declared in the grave, or thy faithfulness in "destruction? Shall thy wonders be known in the "dark? and thy righteousness in the land of forget-"fulness§?"

The writer of the book of Ecclesiastes is still more express: *For the living know that they shall die: but the dead know not any thing, neither have they any*

* Chap. xiv. ver. 7—12.
† Psalm vi. 6.
‡ Psalm xxx. 10.
§ Psalm lxxxviii. 11—13.

more a REWARD, *for the memory of them is forgotten* *.

Hezekiah, in his song of Thanksgiving for his miraculous recovery, speaks in the same strain: "For "the grave cannot praise thee, death cannot celebrate "thee: they that go down into the pit cannot hope "for thy truth. The living, the living, he shall praise "thee, as I do this day: The father to the children "shall make known thy truth †."

Lastly Jeremiah, in his *Lamentations* and complaints of the people, says, OUR FATHERS HAVE SINNED AND ARE NOT, AND WE HAVE BORN THEIR INIQUITIES ‡. Which implies, that the fathers being dead bore no part of the punishment of their sins, but that all was thrown upon the children. But could this have been supposed, had the People been instructed in the doctrine of future rewards and punishments?

Yet a learned *Answerer*, in contradiction to all this, thinks it sufficient to say, That "these passages may "imply no more than that the dead cannot set forth "God's glory *before men*, or make his praise to be "known *upon earth* §." Now I think it must needs *imply* something more, since the *dead* are said to be unable to do this under the earth as well as upon it. For it is the *Grave* which is called the *land of forgetfulness*, or that where all things are forgotten. And in another place it is said, *The dead praise not the Lord, neither any that go down into silence* ‖. Surely, a plain intimation that all intercourse of praise between man and his Maker ceased on death, as well below ground as above; otherwise why did the sacred writer

* See note [QQ] at the end of this Book.

† Isaiah xxxviii. 18, 19. ‡ Chap. v. ver. 7.

§ Dr. Stebbing's Exam. &c. p. 64. ‖ Ps. cxv. 17.

tell us it was the *Grave* which was the place of *silence* to the dead? If the Answerer's interpretation be right, *this world*, and not the other, was the place. Had the Psalmist supposed, as the Doctor does, that the *dead* continued in a capacity of *remembering the goodness of God*, this remembrance could be no where more quickly or forcibly excited than in that World where the divine goodness is clearly unveiled to *the spirits of just men made perfect* *. On the contrary, the *Grave* is uniformly represented by all of them, as the *land of darkness, silence, and forgetfulness.*

But since, of all the sacred writers, the Psalmist is he who is supposed by the adversaries of the D. L. to have most effectually confuted the Author's system, I shall quote a passage from his hymns, which, I think, fairly enough decides the controversy.—Hitherto we have only heard him say, that the *dead forget God*; we shall now find him go further, and say that *God forgets them.*—"I am counted with them that go down into the pit.—FREE amongst the dead, like the slain that lie in the grave, *whom thou rememberest no more:* and THEY ARE CUT OFF FROM THY HAND†. Let the serious reader take notice of the last words,—*they* (the dead) *are cut off from thy hand*, i.e. they are no longer the object of thy Providence or moral Government. On this account it is, that in the beginning of the sentence he calls these *dead* FREE; that is, manumised; set at liberty; in the same sense that Uzziah the leper's *freedom* is spoken of by the sacred historian—*And Uzziah the King was a Leper, and dwelt in a several house* [or, as the margin of our translation tells us, it signifies in the Hebrew, a FREE HOUSE, or *house of freedom*] *being a Leper, for he was* CUT OFF *from the house of the Lord.* The phrase of

* Heb. xii. 23. † Ps. lxxxviii. 4, 5.

cutting off, &c. signifying the same in both places, the taking away all intercourse and relation between two: And if that intercourse consisted in *service* on the one side, and protection on the other, as between Lord and Subject, Master and Servant, he who owed *service* is with great propriety of figure said to be FREE or MANUMISED. Hezekiah, as quoted above, delivers the very same sentiment, though in a different expression —*they that go down into the pit cannot hope for* THY TRUTH. What this *truth* is, the following words declare,—*the living, the living, they shall praise thee.* THE FATHER TO THE CHILDREN SHALL MAKE KNOWN THY TRUTH. As much as to say, "the *truth* not to be hoped for by them who go down into the pit, is *The nature and the history of God's Dispensation to his chosen people*;" in which, by a particular precept of the LAW, the Fathers were commanded to instruct their Children. Thus the Psalmist and this other Jewish Ruler agree in this principle, that the Dead are no longer the object of God's *general* Providence, or of his *particular:* which evinces what I was to prove, "THAT THE BODY OF THE EARLY JEWS HAD NO EXPECTATIONS OF A FUTURE STATE OF REWARDS AND PUNISHMENTS." And here let me take notice of a passage which the contenders for the contrary Doctrine much confide in. It is where David, speaking of his dead child, says, *I shall go to him, but he will not return to me.* But whither was he to follow his departed child? He himself tells you —into a land of *darkness, silence, and forgetfulness*, where he was to be no longer in a capacity of *remembering the goodness and mercy of God*, or even of *being remembered by him*; but was to be *cut off from his hand*, that is, was to be no longer the object of his Providence or moral Government.

To

To proceed. If now we set all these passages together, we find it to be the same language throughout, and in every circumstance of life; as well in the cool philosophy of the author of Ecclesiastes, as amidst the distresses of the Psalmist, and the exultations of good Hezekiah.

But could this language have been used by a People instructed in the doctrine of life and immortality? or do we find one word of it, on any occasion whatever, in the Writers of the New Testament, but where it is brought in to be confuted and condemned*?

All this, to thoughtful men, will, I suppose, be deemed convincing. Whence it follows that their subterfuge is quite cut off, who pretend, that Moses did not indeed propagate the Doctrine of a future state of rewards and punishments in *writing*, but that he delivered it to TRADITION, which conveyed it safely down through all the ages of the Jewish Dispensation, from one end of it to the other. For we see, he was so far from teaching it, that he studiously contrived to keep it out of sight; nay provided for the want of it: and the people were so far from being influenced by it, that they had not even the idea of it. Yet the writers of the Church of Rome have taken advantage of this silence in the Law of Moses concerning a future state, to advance the honour of TRADITION: For, not seeing the doctrine in the WRITTEN LAW, and fancying they saw a necessity that the Jews should have it, they concluded (to save the credit of the Jewish Church and to advance the credit of their own) that Moses had carefully inculcated it, in the TRADITIONAL. This weighty point, Father Simon proves by the *second book of*

* "*Let us eat and drink, for to-morrow we die.* Be not deceived: evil communications corrupt good manners," &c. 1 Cor. xv. 32.

Maccabees; and triumphs over the Protestants and Socinians (as he calls them) for their folly in throwing that book out of the Canon, and thereby disabling themselves from proving a future state, from the Old Testament*.

A very worthy protestant Bishop does as much honour to *Tradition*, in his way. In some *Miscellanies* of the Bishop of Cloyne, published in 1752, we find these words—"Moses, indeed, doth *not insist on a* "*future state*, THE COMMON BASIS OF ALL POLI- "TICAL INSTITUTIONS.—The belief of a future state "(which it is manifest the Jews were possessed of *long* "*before the coming of Christ*) seems to have obtained "amongst the Hebrews from primæval TRADITION, "which might render it unnecessary for Moses to "*insist* on that article." p. 68. Though the Bishop has not the merit of saying this with a professed design, like Father Simon, *pour appuyer la Tradition*, yet the Church of Rome has not the less obligation to him for assigning so much virtue to this their powerful assistant, which has conveyed to them all they want; and indeed most of what they have. But if the *traditional* doctrine of a future state prevailed amongst the Jews, in the time of Moses, and that he would trust to the same conveyance for the safe delivery of it down to the times of Christ, how came it to pass that

* Mons. Simon avoit dit, *pour appuyer la Tradition*, que la resurrection des corps ne peut se demontrer par le Vieux Testament—ces expressions plus claires de la resurrection & du siecle à venir, qui se trouvent dans le *second Livre Maccabees*, sont une preuve evidente que les Juifs avoient une Tradition touchant la Resurrection, dont ils n'est fait aucune mention dans les anciens livres de l'Ecriture. Les Protestans & les Sociniens qui ne reçoivent point les *Maccabees* ne pourront pas la prouver solidement par le Vieux Testament. Pere Simon, Reponse au Sentimens de quelques Theologiens de Hollande, *&c.* p. 39.

he

he did his best to weaken the efficacy, by studiously contriving to draw men off, as it were, from the Doctrine, and always representing it under the impenetrable cover of temporal rewards and punishments?

2. If a future state obtained by *Tradition*, What occasion was there for the Law of punishing the transgression of the parent upon the children?

3. If it obtained by *Tradition*, How happened it that the Jews are not represented in their History sometimes at least, as acting on the motives, and influenced by the prospect of a future state, and expressing their hopes concerning it like the rest of mankind, who had it by *Tradition*, or otherwise?

4. If it obtained by *Tradition*, How came HEZEKIAH to say, that *they who go down into the pit cannot hope for the truth:* and DAVID, to represent the dead as going into the place of *silence* and *forgetfulness*, where they were no longer to praise and celebrate the goodness of God? On the contrary, are there not passages in the books of SOLOMON and JOB, which plainly shew that no such tradition obtained in their respective times?

5. If it obtained by *Tradition*, What occasion for the administration of an extraordinary Providence under the Law? Or from whence arose the embarras of DAVID and JEREMIAH (not to speak of the disputants in the book of JOB) to account for the prosperity of some wicked Individuals, in the present life? In a word, to the maintainers of this *Tradition* may be very appositely applied the words of Jesus to the *Traditionists* in general, when he told them, *they made the word of God of none effect through their traditions.* For certainly, if any thing can render that *word of God* which *brought life and immortality to light by the Gospel*, of none effect, it is the pretended PRIMÆVAL

TRADITION

TRADITION which the good Bishop so much insists upon.

The learned Prelate indeed observes, that *the Jews were possessed of a future state long before the coming of Christ*. But what is this to the purpose, if it can be shewn, that the knowledge of it might be obtained from a quarter very distant from the old Hebrew *Traditions*; and especially if from the colour and complexion of the Doctrine, it can be shewn, that it did, in fact, come from a distant quarter? namely, from their Pagan neighbours; patched up out of some dark and scattered insinuations of their own Prophets, and varnished over with the metaphorical expressions employed to convey them. But not to anticipate what I have to say on this head in the last volume, I proceed in the course of my argument.

SECT. VI.

WHAT is yet of greatest weight, the inspired writers of the *New Testament* expressly assure us that the doctrine of a future State of reward and punishment did NOT make part of the Mosaic Dispensation.

Their evidence may be divided into *two* parts. In the first, they prove that *temporal* Rewards and Punishments were the sanction of the Mosaic Dispensation: and in the second, that it had NO OTHER.

I. St. PAUL, in his epistle to Timothy, enforcing, against certain judaizing Christians, the advantages of moral above ritual observances, says, "Bodily exercise "profiteth little; but godliness is profitable unto all "things; having the promise of the life that now is, and "of that which is to come *." That is, though numerous ritual observances were enjoined by the Law,

* 1 Tim. iv. 8.

and

and some there must needs be under the Gospel wherever there is a Christian Church, yet they are of little advantage in comparison of moral virtue; for that, under both Religions, the rewards proper to each were annexed only to *godliness:* that is to say, under the Jewish, the reward of *the life that now is*; under the Christian, of that *which is to come.* This interpretation, which shews *temporal rewards* to be foreign to the nature of the Christian Economy, I support,

1. From other passages of the same Writer, where he expressly informs us that Christians have not the promise of the *life that now is.* For to the Corinthians he says, speaking of the condition of the followers of CHRIST, *if in this life only we have hope in* CHRIST, *we are of all men most miserable* *. To understand the force of which words, we must consider, that they were addressed to Jewish Converts tainted with Sadducism, who argued from the Mosaic Dispensation to the Christian: And holding that there was no future state in the former, concluded by analogy, that there was none in the latter. The argument on which they built their first Position was, that the sanctions of the Law were temporal rewards and punishments. Our Apostle therefore argues with them, as is his usual way, on their own principles. "You deny, says he, a resur-
" rection from the dead, or a future state of reward
" and punishment. And why? Because there is no
" such doctrine in the Law. How do you prove it?
" Because the sanctions of the Law are temporal
" rewards and punishments. Agreed. And now on
" your own principle I confute your conclusion. You
" own that the Jews had an equivalent for future re-
" wards and punishments, namely the present. But
" Christians have no equivalent. So far from that,

* 1 Cor. xv. 19.

" *they*

" *they are*, with regard to this world only, *of all men* " *most miserable*; having therefore no equivalent for " the rewards of a future state, they must needs be " entitled to them." This shews the superior force of the Apostle's reasoning. And from hence it appears not only that Christians HAD NOT, but that the Jews HAD the promise of the life that now is.

2. If we understand the *promise of the life that now is* to extend to the Christian Dispensation, we destroy the strength and integrity of St. Paul's argument. He is here reasoning against judaizing Christians. So that his business is to shew, that *godliness*, in every state, and under every Dispensation unto which they imagined themselves bound, had the advantage of *bodily exercise* *.

The Author of the epistle to the Hebrews, speaking of JESUS, says: *After the similitude of Melchisedec there ariseth another Priest, who is made not after the* LAW OF A CARNAL COMMANDMENT, *but after the power of an endless life* †. The Jewish Religion, called a *carnal commandment*, is here opposed to the Christian, called *the power of an endless life*. By *carnal commandment* then must needs be understood a Law promising carnal things, or the things of this life.

II. That the Mosaic Dispensation had ONLY the sanction of *temporal* rewards and punishments, or that it taught not *future*, let us hear St. John; who in the beginning of his Gospel assures us, that *the* LAW *was given by Moses, but* that GRACE *and* TRUTH *came by Jesus Christ* ‡. As certain then as the *Law* did not come by Jesus Christ, so certain is it, according to this Apostle, that *Grace* and *Truth* did not come by Moses. This *Grace* and *Truth* cannot be understood gene-

* See note [RR] at the end of this Book.

† Chap. vii. ver. 15, 16. ‡ Chap. i. ver. 17.

rically;

rically; for, the *grace* or favour of God was bestowed on the chosen race, and *truth*, or the revealed will of God, *did come* by Moses. It must therefore be some *species* of *grace* and *truth*, of which the Apostle here predicates; the publication of which species constitutes what is called the Gospel. And this all know to be redemption from death, and restoration to eternal life.

Again, to this part likewise, let us once more hear the learned Apostle: *As by one man sin entered into the world, and death by sin; and so death passed upon all men, for that all have sinned: for until the Law, sin was in the world, but Sin is not imputed where there is no Law. Nevertheless Death reigned from Adam to Moses**. It is St. Paul's purpose to shew, that *death* came by ADAM through sin, and so passed upon all men; and that *life* came by JESUS CHRIST: But having said that Sin, which brings forth Death, is not imputed where there is no Law, lest this should seem to contradict what he had said of Death's passing upon *all men*, he adds, *nevertheless death reigned from Adam to Moses*; taking it for granted that his followers would understand it must needs reign from Moses to CHRIST, as having made *Sin's being* IMPUTED to consist in there being a LAW given. Now I ask how the Apostle could possibly say, *that death reigned under the* Mosaic Dispensation, if that People had the knowledge of immortal life to be procured by a Redeemer to come, any more than it can be said to *reign now* with the same knowledge of a Redeemer past; since we agree that the efficacy of his death extends to all preceding as well as succeeding Ages? Accordingly in his epistle to the Corinthians he calls the Jewish Law, the MINISTRATION OF DEATH, and the MINISTRATION OF CONDEMNATION †.

* Rom. v. 12, *et seq.* † 2 Cor. iii. 7, *et seq.*

2. In

2. In his epistle to the Galatians, he says,—*Before* FAITH *came, we were kept under the Law, shut up unto the* FAITH *which should afterwards be revealed**; i. e. we were kept in subjection to the Law of Moses; and, by that means, shut up and sequestered from the rest of the Nations, to be prepared and made ready for the first reception of the FAITH, when it should in God's appointed time be revealed unto men. From these words therefore it appears, that till that time, the Jews had no knowledge of this FAITH. So much we must have concluded though he had not said, as he does afterwards, That till that time, the Jews *were in bondage under the elements of this world*†. Now could men acquainted with the doctrine of *life and immortality* be said, with any sense of propriety, to be in such a state of bondage? For though men in bondage may have an idea of Liberty, yet of THIS LIBERTY they could have no idea without understanding, at the same time, that they were partakers of its benefits.

3. In his second epistle to Timothy he expressly says, *That* JESUS CHRIST HATH ABOLISHED DEATH, AND HATH BROUGHT LIFE AND IMMORTALITY TO LIGHT THROUGH THE GOSPEL‡. But now if *Death* were abolished by JESUS CHRIST, it is certain it had reigned till his coming: and yet it is as certain, that it could reign no longer than while the tidings of the Gospel were kept back; because we agree that CHRIST's death hath a retrospect operation: therefore those under the Law had no knowledge of life and immortality. Again: *If life and immortality were brought to light through the Gospel*, consequently, till the preaching of the Gospel, it was kept hid and out of sight§. But if taught by Moses and the

* Gal. iii. 23. † Chap. iv. ver. 3. ‡ 2 Tim. i. 10.
§ See note [88] at the end of this Book.

Prophets,

Prophets, it was *not brought to light through the Gospel:* therefore the generality of those under the Law had no knowledge of a future state. But Scripture is ever consistent, though men's systems be not. And for this reason we find that *life and immortality*, which is here said to be *brought to light through the Gospel*, is so often called the MYSTERY OF THE GOSPEL*: that is, a *mystery* till this promulgation of it by the disciples of CHRIST: *Which had been hid from ages and from generations, but was then made manifest unto the Saints*†. The term was borrowed from those famous *Rites* of Paganism, so named; and is applied with admirable justness. For as the *Mysteries* were communicated only to a few of the wise and great, and kept hid from the populace: so *life and immortality*, as we shall see, was revealed by GOD, as a special favour, to the holy Patriarchs and Prophets, but kept hid from the body of the Jewish Nation.

4. The Author of the Epistle to the Hebrews says: That THE LAW MADE NOTHING PERFECT, BUT THE BRINGING IN OF A BETTER HOPE DID‡. Now, that could not be said to be *brought in*, which was there before. And had it been there before, the *Law*, it seems, had been perfect; and, consequently, would have superseded the use of the *Gospel*. Therefore this *better hope*, namely of immortality in a future state, is not in the Mosaic Dispensation. Let us observe farther, that as the Gospel, by bringing in a *better hope*, made the Law *perfect*, it appears, there was that relation between the *Law* and *Gospel* which is between the beginning and the completion of any matter. From whence these two consequences follow:

* See note [TT] at the end of this Book.

† Col. i. 26. ‡ Chap. vii. ver. 19.

1. That

1. That the Law wanted something which the Gospel supplied: And what was that something but the doctrine of a future State? 2. That the Law must needs make some preparation for that *better hope* which the Gospel was to bring in. What it was, the same writer tells us, namely, That *it had* A SHADOW [σκιὰν] *of good things to come*, but *not the* VERY IMAGE [εἰκόνα] *of the things**. Hence it is evident that by this *shadow* is meant such a typical representation, so faintly delineated, as not to be perceived by vulgar eyes, intent only on a carnal Dispensation. This was contrived for admirable purposes: For if, instead of a *shadow* or faint outline of a design, the Image itself, in full relief, had glaringly held forth the object intended, this object, so distinctly defined, would have drawn the Jews from that Economy to which it was God's pleasure they should long continue in subjection: And had there been no delineation at all, to become stronger in a clearer light, one illustrious evidence of the Dependency between the two Religions had been wanting.

Again, the same Writer, to the same purpose, speaking of CHRIST, says, *But now hath he obtained a more excellent Ministry, by how much also he is the Mediator of a* BETTER COVENANT, *which was established upon* BETTER PROMISES. *For if the first Covenant had been faultless, then should no place have been found for the Second*†. 1. We see that this *better Covenant* was established by CHRIST, and not by Moses. 2. If the first Covenant had been faultless, that is, had contained *better promises*, or taught the doctrine of a future state, there had been no room for a second.

* Chap. x. ver. 1. † Chap. viii. ver. 6, 7.

To

To sum up all, This admirable writer gives in the last place, the fullest evidence to both parts of the proposition, namely, "That temporal rewards and punishments were the sanction of the Jewish Dispensation; and that it had no other." For in the second chapter we find these remarkable assertions:

Ver. 2. *For if the word spoken by Angels was stedfast, and every transgression and disobedience* RECEIVED A JUST RECOMPENCE OF REWARD, *How shall we escape, &c.*

Ver. 5. *For unto the Angels hath he not put in subjection the* WORLD TO COME, *whereof we speak.*

Ver. 14, 15. *He* [Christ] *also himself likewise took part of the same* [flesh and blood] *that through death he might destroy him that had the power of death; that is, the Devil; and deliver them, who through fear of Death were* ALL THEIR LIFE-TIME *subject to bondage.*

Let us lay these three texts together. And we shall find, 1. from ver. 2. that the sanction of the Law, or *the word spoken by angels*, was of a temporal nature —*every transgression received a just recompence.* 2. From ver. 5. that the Law taught no future state—*the world to come not being put in subjection to these angels.* And 3. from ver. 14, 15. that the people had not the knowledge of such a state—*being all their life-time subject to bondage.* For the Devil is here said to have *power of death*, as he brought it into the world by the delusion of the FIRST MAN. Therefore, before *death* can be abolished, *He*, who had the power of it, must be destroyed. But his destruction is the work of the SECOND MAN. Till his coming therefore, the Jews, as we are here told, *were through fear of death all their life-time subject to bondage.* Christ then brought them into *the glorious liberty of*

the children of God *, by setting before them *life and immortality* †.

To all this, I hope, the reader will not be so inattentive to object, "That what is here produced from the New Testament, to prove that the followers of the Law had no future state, contradicts what I have more than once observed, That the later Jewish Prophets had given strong intimations of an approaching Dispensation, with a future state." For the question is concerning a future state's being the Sanction of the LAW, not of later intimations, of its being ready to become the sanction of the GOSPEL.

As inconsiderate would be this other objection, "That my point is to prove that this Dispensation had *no future state of reward and punishment at all*, and my evidence from the New Testament only shews they had not the *Christian Doctrine of it*." For to this I answer, 1. That those I argue with, if they hold any difference between the Christian and general Doctrine of a future state of reward and punishment, it is only this, that the Christian Doctrine was *revealed*; the other, a conclusion of natural reason. Now if the Jews had this Doctrine, they must needs have it, as *revealed*; consequently the same with the Christian. 2. That though I myself suppose the natural and the Christian Doctrine of a future state of reward and punishment to be very different things; yet I shall shew, in due time, that if Moses were indeed God's Messenger, and would teach a future state, it could be no other than the *Christian* Doctrine of it. But as those, I have to do with, may be ready to tell me,

* Rom. viii. 21.

† For the further illustration of this matter, I would recommend to the Reader's serious perusal the first chapter of *The free and candid Examination of the Bishop of London's Principles.*

that

that this *due time*, like that of the *Jews' Messiah*, is either past or will never come, they will, I suppose, readily bear with me while I anticipate the subject, and in a very few words prove what is here asserted. Revelation teacheth that mankind lost the free gift of immortal life by the transgression of Adam; and, from thence, became mortal, and their existence confined to this life. Revelation likewise teacheth that the MEAN which Divine Wisdom thought fit to employ in restoring man from death to his first state of immortality, was *the sacrifice of Christ on the cross*. Hence it appears to be a thing impossible, that any Messenger from God, any Agent or Instrument made use of for conducting this grand Dispensation towards its completion, could (were it in his *choice* or in his *office* to promulgate the doctrine of a future State) speak of any other but that purchased by Christ, and promulged and proclaimed in the Gospel, since in fact, on the principles of Revelation, there is no other; and to inculcate another, would be impeaching the veracity of God, and the eternal stability of his councils.

To conclude, There is one thing which plainly evinceth, that if the Jews had the knowledge or belief of a FUTURE STATE of reward and punishment, they must have had the knowledge of the REDEMPTION of man by the death and suffering of Jesus Christ, likewise. And it is this, That all the Sacrifices in the Jewish Ritual regarded only temporal things. A very competent judge in these matters assures us,—Universa Judæorum simul congesta Sacrificia ad assequenda hujus vitæ commoda omnia facta erant*. The consequence is this, That if the Jewish religion taught its followers a future state of rewards and punishments, it either afforded them no means of

* Outram de Sacr. p. 305.

attaining future happiness, or it instructed them in the doctrine of the Redemption. To say the first, contradicts the nature of all Religion; to say the latter, makes the Jewish useless, and the Christian false, as contradicting its repeated declarations, that *life and immortality*, or the doctrine of the Redemption, *was brought to light through the Gospel.*

But what was asked by St. Paul's Adversaries, will perhaps be asked by mine, *Is the* LAW *then against the* PROMISES *of God?* Or does the LAW, because it had no future state, contradict the GOSPEL, which hath? The Apostle's answer will serve me,—*God forbid: For if there had been a* LAW *which could have given life, verily righteousness should have been by the* LAW*. That is, if the genius of the *Law* had produced such a Dispensation as was proper to convey to mankind the free gift of life and immortality, this gift would have been conveyed by it. All this shews that the Law was not *contrary* to the Gospel, but only that it was not of sufficient excellence to be the vehicle of God's last best gift to mankind. And it shews too (and it is a very fit remark, as the result from the whole, with which to conclude this fifth *Book*) that a future state was not the Sanction of the Law of Moses, or, in the Apostle's more emphatic words, that the *Law did not* (because it could not) *give life.*

Thus, I presume, it is now proved beyond all reasonable question, THAT THE DOCTRINE OF A FUTURE STATE OF REWARD AND PUNISHMENT IS NOT TO BE FOUND IN, NOR DID MAKE PART OF, THE MOSAIC DISPENSATION.

It will be asked, then, "What were the real sentiments of these early Jews, concerning the soul?"

* Gal. iii. 21.

Though

Though the question be a little out of time, yet as the answer is short, I shall give it here. They were doubtless the same with those of the rest of mankind, who have thought upon the matter; that IT SURVIVED THE BODY: But having, from Moses's silence and the establishment of another Sanction, no expectation of future rewards and punishments, they simply concluded that *it returned to him who gave it**. But, as to any interesting speculations concerning its state of survivorship, 'tis plain they had none. Indeed how should they have any? when PERSONALITY did not enter into the idea of this *survivorship*, that being only annexed to the *rewards and punishments* of a future state. Hence it was that those ancient Philosophers (almost all the theistical Philosophers of Greece) who considered the soul as a SUBSTANCE distinct from the body, and not a mere QUALITY of it (for they were not such idiots as to conceive, that *thought* could result from any combinations of *matter and motion*), those Philosophers, I say, who considered the soul as a substance, and yet disbelieved a future state of rewards and punishments, denied it all future *personality*, and held the refusion of it into the τὸ ἓν, or the soul of the world †. And just such INTERESTING SPECULATIONS concerning it had the few philosophic Jews of the most early times, as appears from the book of Ecclesiastes, which speaks their sentiments. *Who knoweth* (says this author) *the spirit of man that goeth upward, and the spirit of the beast that goeth downward to the earth* ‡? And again: "Then shall "the dust return to the earth as it was, AND THE "SPIRIT SHALL RETURN UNTO GOD WHO GAVE "IT §." Yet this writer, perfectly conformable to

* Eccles. xii. 7. † See Div. Leg. b. iii.
‡ Ch. iii. 21. Vid. *Cler.* & *Drus.* in loc. § Ch. xii. 7. Vid. *Cler.* in loc.

what I have delivered, says, at the same time: *But the dead know not any thing, neither have they* ANY MORE A REWARD, *for the memory of them is forgotten**.

And where was the wonder? that a matter which so little concerned them, namely, the future condition of a portion of etherial Spirit divested of its Personality, should only float idly in the brain, when we reflect that even the knowledge of the FIRST CAUSE OF ALL THINGS, while he made no part of the *National Worship*, was entertained by the Gentiles (as appears from all Antiquity) with the utmost unconcern, neither regulating their notions, nor influencing their actions.

But from this uninteresting state, in which the Doctrine, concerning the Soul, remained amongst the early Jews, the SADDUCEES concluded that their Ancestors believed the *extinction* of the soul on death. Hence likewise came some late Revivers of this opinion, of the *extinction of the soul*; though maintained under the softer name of its SLEEP between death and the resurrection: For they go upon the Sadducean principle, that the soul is a *quality* only, and not a *substance*.

In support of this opinion, the Revivers of it proceed on the sophism, which Polytheists employ to combat the unity of the Godhead. *All Philosophical arguments* (says the Reviver, after having quoted a number of wonderful things from Scripture, to prove the soul a *quality*, and mortal) *drawn from our notions of matter, and urged against the possibility of life, thought and agency, being so connected with some portions of it as to constitute a compound Being or Person, are merely grounded on our ignorance* †. Just so the

* Chap. ix. ver. 5.

† *Considerations on the Theory of Religion*, p. 398. Ed. 3d.

Polytheist. "All arguments for the Unity, from metaphysics, are manifestly vain, and merely grounded on our ignorance. You Believers (says he) must be confined to Scripture: Now Scripture assures us, THERE ARE GODS MANY," which, by the way, I think a stronger text, certainly a directer, against the *unity of the Godhead*, than any this learned Writer has produced for the *sleep of the Soul*. But what say Believers to this? They say, that Scripture takes the *unity*, as well as the *existence* of the Deity, for granted; takes them for truths demonstrable by natural light. Just so it is with regard to that *immaterial substance*, the Soul. Scripture supposes men to be so far informed of the nature of the Soul, by the same light, as to know that it cannot be destroyed by any of those causes which bring about the extinction of the body. Our Dreamers* are aware of this, and therefore hold with Unbelievers, that the Soul is *no substance*, but a *quality* only; and so have taken effectual care indeed, that its repose shall not be disturbed in this, which we may emphatically call, the SLEEP OF DEATH. *We can never prove* (says another of these sleepers†) *that the Soul of man is of such a nature that it can and must exist and live, think, act, enjoy, &c. separate from, and independent of, the body. All our present experience shews the contrary. The operations of the mind depend* CONSTANTLY and INVARIABLY *upon the state of the body, of the brain in particular. If some dying persons have a lively use of their rational faculties to the very last, it is because death has invaded some other part, and the brain remains sound and vigorous*‡. This is the long-exploded trash of *Coward, Toland,*

* St. Jude's *filthy dreamers* only *defiled the Flesh.* These *defile the Spirit.*

† Taylor of Norwich. ‡ Ib. p. 401.

Collins, &c. And he who can treat us with it at this time of day, has either never read CLARKE and BAXTER on the subject (in which he had been better employed than in writing upon it), or never understood them.—So far as to the abstract truth. Let us consider next the practical consequences. Convince the philosophic Libertine that the Soul is a quality arising out of *matter*, and vanishing on the dissolution of the *form*, and then see if ever you can bring him to believe the Christian Doctrine of the RESURRECTION! While he held the Soul to be an immaterial substance, existing, as well in its separation from, as in its conjunction with, the body, and he could have no reason, arising from the Principles of true Philosophy, to stagger in his belief of this revealed Doctrine.—*Thou fool, that which thou sowest is not quickened except it die* *, is good philosophy as well as good divinity: for if the body, instead of its earthly nature, were to have a heavenly, it must needs pass through death and corruption to qualify it for that change. But when this *body died*, what occasion was there for the *Soul*, which was to suffer no change, to *fall asleep?*

But their *sleep of the Soul* is mere cant: and this brings me to the last consideration, the sense and consistency of so ridiculous a notion. They go, as we observed, upon the Sadducean principle, that the Soul is a *quality* of body, not a *substance* of itself, and so dies with its substratum. Now *sleep*, is a modification of Existence, not of non-existence; so that though the sleep of a *Substance* hath a meaning, the sleep of a *quality* is nonsense. And if ever this Soul of theirs re-exerts its faculties, it must be by means of a REPRODUCTION, not by a mere AWAKING; and they may as well talk of the SLEEP of a mushroom turned

* St. Paul. (1 Cor. xv. 36.)

again

again into the substance of the dunghill from whence it arose, and from which, not the same, but another mushroom shall, in time, arise. In a word, neither Unbelievers nor Believers will allow to these *middle men* that a new-existing Soul, which is only a quality resulting from a glorified body, can be identically the same with an annihilated Soul, which had resulted from an earthly body. But perhaps, as Hudibras had discovered the Receptacle of the *ghosts of defunct bodies*, so these gentlemen may have found out the yet subtiler corner, where the *ghosts of defunct qualities* repose.

END OF THE FIFTH BOOK.

APPENDIX.

APPENDIX.

A LATE noble and voluminous Author*, who hath written with more than ordinary spleen against THE RELIGION OF HIS COUNTRY, as it is founded in Revelation and established by Law, hath attacked with more than ordinary fury the Author of *The Divine Legation of Moses demonstrated*, and of *The Alliance between Church and State vindicated*.

I shall shortly find a fitter place to examine his reasoning against the *Alliance*. At present let us see what he has to urge against the argument of the *Divine Legation*, which is founded on these two facts, the *omission of the Doctrine of a future State of Rewards and Punishments* in the Mosaic Dispensation; and the *administration of an extraordinary Providence* in the same Dispensation.

His Lordship begins with the OMISSION, which he acknowledges: and to evade the force of the argument arising from it, casts about for a reason, independent of the EXTRAORDINARY PROVIDENCE, to account for it.

His first solution is this,—"MOSES DID NOT BE-"LIEVE THE IMMORTALITY OF THE SOUL, nor the "rewards and punishments of another life, though it "is possible he might have learnt these Doctrines "from the Egyptians, WHO TAUGHT THEM VERY

* Lord Bolingbroke.

"EARLY,

" EARLY, perhaps as they taught that of the Unity of " God. When I say, *that Moses did not believe the* " *immortality of the soul*, nor future rewards and pu- " nishments, my reason is this, that he taught neither, " when *he had to do with a people whom a Theocracy* " *could not restrain*; and on whom, therefore, terrors " of Punishment, *future* as well as present, *eternal* " as well as temporary, could never be too much " multiplied, or too strongly inculcated *."

This reasoning is altogether worthy of his Lordship. Here we have a DOCTRINE, confessed to be plausible in itself, and therefore of easy admittance; most alluring to human nature, and therefore embraced by all mankind; of highest account among the Egyptians, and therefore ready to be embraced by the Israelites, who were fond of Egyptian notions; of strongest efficacy on the minds of an unruly People, and therefore of indispensable use; Yet, all this notwithstanding, *Moses did not believe it, and, on that account, would not teach it.*—But then, had MOSES's integrity been so severe, How came he to write a History which, my Lord thinks, is, in part at least, a fiction of his own? Did he *believe* that? How came he to leave the Israelites, as my Lord assures us he did, in possession of many of the superstitious opinions of Egypt? did he *believe* these too? No, but they served his purpose; which was, The better governing an unruly People. Well, but his Lordship tells us, the doctrine of a future state served this purpose best of all; for *having to do with a People whom a Theocracy could not restrain, terrors of punishment*, FUTURE *as well as present*, ETERNAL *as well as temporary, could never be too much multiplied, or too strongly inculcated.* No matter for that. MOSES, as other men may, on a sudden grows

* Vol. iii. p. 289.

scrupulous;

scrupulous; and so, together with the maxims of common politics, throws aside the principles of common sense; and when he had employed all the other inventions of fraud, he boggles at this, which best served his purpose; was most innocent in itself; and was most important in its general, as well as particular use.

In his Lordship's next Volume, this *Omission* comes again upon the stage; and then we have *another* reason assigned for Moses's conduct in this matter, "Moses would not teach the Doctrine of the immortality of the soul, and of a future state, *on account of the many superstitions* which this Doctrine had begot in Egypt, as we must believe, or *believe that he knew nothing of it*, or ASSIGN SOME WHIMSICAL REASON FOR HIS OMISSION*."

We have seen before, that Moses omitted a future state, *because he did not believe it*. This reason is now out of date; and one or other of the three following is to be assigned; either because it *begot superstitions*; or because *he knew nothing of it*; or if you will allow neither of these, you must have recourse, he tells you, to Warburton's WHIMSICAL REASON, that *the Jews were under an extraordinary Providence*.

Let us take him then, at his word, without expecting however, that he will stand to it; and having shewn his two first reasons not worth a rush, leave the last, established, even on his own concessions.

1. *Moses*, says he, *omitted a future state on account of the many superstitions, which this doctrine had begot in Egypt*. But if the *omission* stands upon this principle, Moses must have omitted an infinite number of things, which, Lord Bolingbroke says, he borrowed of

* Vol. iv. p. 470.

the

the Egyptians; part of which, in his Lordship's opinion, were those very superstitions, which this *Doctrine had begot*; such as the notion of TUTELARY DEITIES: and part, what arose out of that notion; in the number of which were *distinction between things clean and unclean*; an *hereditary Priesthood*; *sacerdotal habits*; and *Rites of sacrifice*.

2. However, he has another reason for the omission: MOSES *might know nothing of it*. To which, if I only opposed his Lordship's own words in another place, where (giving us the reasons why MOSES did *know something* of a future state) he observes, there are *certain rites, which seem to allude or have a remote relation to this very doctrine**, it might be deemed sufficient. But I will go further, and observe, that, from the very LAWS of MOSES themselves, we have an internal evidence of his knowledge of this doctrine. Amongst the Laws against Gentile Divinations, there is one directed against that species of them, called by the Greeks, NECROMANCY, or *invocation of the dead*; which necessarily implies, in the Lawgiver who forbids it, as well as in the offender who uses it, the *knowledge of a future state*.

3. This being the fate of his Lordship's two reasons, we are now abandoned by him, and left to follow our own inventions, or to take up with SOME WHIMSICAL REASON FOR THE OMISSION; that is, to allow that, as the Jews were under an *extraordinary* Providence, MOSES in quality of Lawgiver had NO OCCASION for the doctrine of a *future state*.

However, his Lordship, dissatisfied, as well he might, with the solutions hitherto proposed, returns again to the charge; and in his *Corona operis*, the book of FRAGMENTS, more openly opposes the

* Vol. v. p. 230.

doctrine

doctrine of the *Divine Legation*; and enlarges and expatiates upon the reason before given for the *omission*; namely, *the many superstitions this doctrine had begotten in Egypt.*

" ONE CANNOT SEE WITHOUT SURPRIZE (says " his Lordship) a doctrine so useful to ALL Religion, " and therefore incorporated into ALL the Systems of " Paganism, left wholly out of that of the JEWS. " Many probable reasons, might be brought to shew, " that it was an Egyptian doctrine before the Exode, " and this particularly, that it was propagated from " Egypt, so soon, at least, afterwards, by all those " who were instructed like MOSES, in the wisdom of " that People. He transported much of his Wisdom " into the scheme of Religion and Government, " which he gave the Israelites; and, amongst other " things, certain Rites, which may seem to allude, or " have a remote relation to, this very doctrine. Though " this doctrine, therefore, had not been that of ABRA- " HAM, ISAAC, and JACOB, he might have adopted " it with as little scruple, as he did many customs and " institutions merely Egyptian. He had to do with " a rebellious, but a superstitious, people. In the " first Character, they made it necessary that he " should neglect nothing which might add weight to " his ordinances, and contribute to keep them in awe. " In the second, their disposition was extremely proper " to receive such a doctrine, and to be influenced by " it. *Shall we say that an hypothesis of future re-* " *wards and punishments, was* USELESS *among a* " *People who lived under a Theocracy*, and that the " future Judge of other People, was their immediate " Judge and King, who resided in the midst of them, " and who dealed out rewards and punishments on " every occasion? Why then were so many precau-

" tions

" tions taken? Why was a solemn Covenant made
" with God, as with a temporal Prince? Why were
" so many promises and threatenings of rewards and
" punishments, temporal indeed, but future and con-
" tingent, as we find in the book of Deuteronomy,
" most pathetically held out by MOSES? Would
" there have been any more impropriety in holding
" out those of one kind than those of another, be-
" cause the Supreme Being, who disposed and ordered
" both, was in a particular manner present amongst
" them? Would an addition to the catalogue of re-
" wards and punishments more remote, but eternal,
" and in all respects far greater, have had no effect?
" I think neither of these things can be said.

" What shall we say then? How came it to pass,
" this addition was not made? I will mention what
" occurs to me, and shall not be over solicitous about
" the weight that my reflections may deserve. If the
" doctrines of the immortality of the soul and of a
" future state had been revealed to MOSES, that he
" might teach them to the Israelites, he would have
" taught them most certainly. But he did not teach
" them. They were therefore not revealed to him.
" Why they were not so revealed some PERT DIVINE
" OR OTHER WILL BE READY TO TELL YOU. For
" me, I dare not presume to guess. But this, I may
" presume to advance, that since these Doctrines were
" not revealed by God to his servant MOSES, it is
" highly probable that this Legislator made a scruple
" of teaching them to the Israelites, how well soever
" instructed he might be in them himself, and howso-
" ever useful to Government he might think them.
" The superstitious and idolatrous rites of the Egyp-
" tians, like those of other nations, were founded on
" the Polytheism, and the Mythology, that prevailed,

" and

" and were suffered to prevail, amongst the Vulgar, " and that made the sum of their Religion. It " seemed to be a point of policy to direct all these " absurd opinions and practices to the service of " Government, instead of attempting to root them " out. But then the great difference between rude " and ignorant nations and such as were civilized and " learned, like the Egyptians, seems to have been this, " that the former had no other system of Religion " than these absurd opinions and practices, whereas " the latter had an *inward* as well as an *outward* " Doctrine. There is reason to believe that natural " Theology and natural Religion had been taught and " practised in the ancient Theban Dynasty; and it is " probable that they continued to be an *inward* doc- " trine in the rest of Egypt; while Polytheism, Ido- " latry, and all the MYSTERIES, all the impieties, " and all the follies of Magic, were the *outward* " doctrine. MOSES might be let into a knowledge " of both; and under the patronage of the Princess, " whose Foundling he was, he might be initiated into " those *Mysteries*, where the secret doctrine alone " was taught, and the outward exploded. But we " cannot imagine that the Children of Israel, in ge- " neral, enjoyed the same privilege, nor that the Mas- " ters were so lavish, to their Slaves, of a favour so " distinguished, and often so hard to obtain. No. " The Children of Israel knew nothing more than the " outside of the Religion of Egypt; and if the doc- " trine, we speak of, was known to them, it was " known only in the superstitious rites, and with all " the fabulous circumstances in which it was dressed " up and presented to vulgar belief. It would have " been hard therefore to teach, or to renew this Doc- " trine in the minds of the Israelites, without giving

" them

" them an occasion the more, to recal the polytheis-
" tical fables, and practise the idolatrous Rites they
" had learnt during their Captivity. Rites and Ce-
" remonies are often so equivocal, that they may be
" applied to very different doctrines. But when they
" are so closely connected with one Doctrine that
" they are not applicable to another, to teach the
" Doctrine is, in some sort, to teach the Rites and
" Ceremonies, and to authorize the fables on which
" they are founded. MOSES therefore being at liberty
" to teach this doctrine of rewards and punishments
" in a future state, or not to teach it, might very well
" choose the latter; though he indulged the Israelites,
" on account of the hardness of their hearts, and by
" the divine permission, as it is presumed, in several
" observances and customs which did not lead directly,
" though even they did so perhaps in consequence, to
" the Polytheism and Idolatry of Egypt *."

What a Babel of bad reasoning has his Lordship here accumulated out of the rubbish of false and inconsistent Principles! And all, to insult the Temple of God and the Fortress of Mount Sion. Sometimes, he represents MOSES as a divine Messenger, and distinguishes between what was revealed, and what was not revealed, unto him; and then, *a future state not being revealed to* MOSES *was the reason he did not teach it*. Sometimes again, he considers him as a mere human Lawgiver, acquiring all his knowledge of Religion and Politics from the Egyptians, in whose *secret* Learning he had been intimately instructed; and then, the reason of the *omission* is, *lest the Doctrine of a future state should have drawn* the *Israelites into those Egyptian superstitions*, from which, it was

* Vol. V. pp. 238, 9, 40, 41.

Moses's purpose to estrange them. All these inconsistencies in *Fact* and *Reasoning*, his Lordship delivers in the same breath, and without the least intimation of any change in his Principles or Opinions.

But let us follow him step by step, without troubling our heads about his real sentiments. It is enough, that we confute all he says, whether under his own, or any assumed Character.

He begins with confessing, that ONE CANNOT SEE WITHOUT SURPRIZE *a doctrine so useful to* ALL *Religions, and therefore incorporated into* ALL *the Systems of Paganism, left wholly out of that of the Jews.*

At length then it appears, that this OMISSION is no light or trivial matter, which may be accounted for, as he before supposed, by Moses's *disbelief* of the doctrine; his *ignorance* of it; or the *imaginary mischiefs* it might possibly produce. We may be allowed then to think it deserved all the pains, the Author of the *Divine Legation of Moses* has bestowed upon it: whose WHIMSICAL REASONING, if it ended in a demonstration of the truth of Revealed Religion, is sufficiently atoned for, though it were a little out of the common road: for in this case the old proverb would hold true, that *the furthest way about is the nearest way home.*

His Lordship proceeds to shew, in direct opposition to what he said before, that Moses could not be ignorant of the doctrine of a future state, because the Egyptians taught it: His knowledge of it (my Lord tells us) further appears from an *internal* circumstance, *some of his rites seeming to allude, or to have a remote relation to, this very doctrine.* This I observe, to his Lordship's credit. The remark is just and accurate. But we are in no want of his *remote relation:* I have shewn just above, that the Jewish Laws against

Necromancy

Necromancy necessarily imply Moses's knowledge of the Doctrine.

He then goes on to explain the advantages which, humanly speaking, the Israelites must have received from this Doctrine, in the temper and circumstances with which they left Egypt. Moses, says he, *had to do with a rebellious and superstitious People.* This likewise I observe to his credit: It has the same marks of sagacity and truth; and brings us to the very verge of the *Solution*, proposed by the Author of the *Divine Legation*; which is, that the Israelites were indeed under an EXTRAORDINARY PROVIDENCE, which supplied all the disadvantages of the OMISSION. Under a *common and unequal* Providence, RELIGION cannot subsist without the doctrine of a future state: for Religion implying a just retribution of reward and punishment, which under such a Providence is not dispensed, a future state must needs subvene, to prevent the whole Edifice from falling into ruin. And thus we account for the *fact*, which his Lordship so amply acknowledges, viz. *that the doctrine of a future state was most useful to* ALL *Religions, and therefore incorporated into* ALL *the Religions of Paganism.* But where an EXTRAORDINARY Providence is administered, good and evil are exactly distributed; and therefore, in this circumstance, a FUTURE STATE is not necessary for the support of Religion. It is not to be found in the Mosaic Economy; yet this Economy subsisted for many ages; Religion therefore did not need it; or in other words, it was supported by an EXTRAORDINARY PROVIDENCE.

This is the argument of the *Divine Legation.* And now, let us consider his Lordship's present attempt to evade it.

Shall we say, that an Hypothesis of future rewards and punishments was useless amongst a people who lived

under a THEOCRACY, *and that the future Judge of other People was their immediate Judge and King, who resided in the midst of them, and who dealt out rewards and punishments on every occasion?* WHY THEN WERE SO MANY PRECAUTIONS *taken?* &c.

First, let me observe, that the PRECAUTIONS here objected to, are intended for an insinuation against the truth of Moses's Promise of an *extraordinary Providence*. A kind of SOPHISM which his Lordship advances, and only holds in common with the rest who have written against the *Divine Legation:* and which I shall here, after much forbearance on my part, expose as it deserves.

MOSES affirms again and again, that his People were under an *extraordinary Providence*. He affirms it indeed; but as it is not a self-evident truth, it needs to be proved. Till then, the Unbeliever is at liberty to urge any circumstance in the Jewish Law or History, which may seem to bring the *reality* of that Providence into question: The same liberty too has the Believer; if, at least, he can persuade himself to make use of it; as many, so professing themselves, have done both in their Writings and Discoursings against the *Divine Legation*. Things were in this train, when I undertook the defence of MOSES: And to obviate all objections to the Legislator's credit, arising from any doubtful or unfavourable circumstance in the Law or History of the Jews concerning this *extraordinary Providence*, I advanced the INTERNAL ARGUMENT of the OMISSION. An argument which necessarily inferred "that an extraordinary Providence was in fact administered in the Jewish Republic." What change did this make in the state of the case? A very great one. Unbelievers were now indeed at liberty, and Believers too, if so perversely inclined, to oppose, and, as they could, to

confute the argument of the *Divine Legation:* But by no rules of good Logic could they come over again with those scripture difficulties to Moses's credit, which the argument of the *Divine Legation* had entirely obviated, and which it still continued to exclude, so long as it remained unanswered. For while a demonstrated truth stands good, no difficulties arising from it, however inexplicable, can have any weight against that superior evidence. Not to admit this fundamental maxim of common sense, would be to unsettle many a physical and mathematical demonstration, as well as this *moral* one.

I say therefore, as things now stand, To oppose difficulties against the administration of an extraordinary Providence, after that Providence has been proved, and before the proof has been confuted, is the most palpable and barefaced imposition on our understanding. In which, however, his Lordship is but one of a hundred: and truly, in this, the least indecent and inconsistent of the hundred; as his declared purpose is to destroy the credit and authority of the Jewish Lawgiver.

I shall not, however, decline to examine the weight of these objections, though they be so vainly and sophistically obtruded.

If there was this EXTRAORDINARY Providence administered, says his Lordship, *Why so many precautions taken? Why was a solemn covenant made with God as with a temporal prince? Why were so many promises and threatenings of rewards and punishments, temporal indeed, but future and contingent, as we find in the Book of Deuteronomy, most pathetically held out by Moses?* This difficulty is not hard to be resolved. We find throughout that Book which we Believers are wont to call the *History of Providence,* but which his

Lordship is pleased to intitle, *Tales more extravagant than those of Amadis de Gaule*, that God, in his moral Government of the World, always employs human means, as far as those means will go; and never interposes with his *extraordinary Providence*, but when they will go no further. To do otherwise, would be an unnecessary waste of Miracles; better fitted to confound our knowledge of NATURE, by obscuring the harmony of order, in such a control of its delegated Powers, than to make manifest the presence of its sovereign Lord and Master. This method in God's moral Government, all our ideas of Wisdom seem to support. Now when He, the great Director of the Universe, had decreed to rule the Jewish People in an extraordinary way, he did not propose to supersede any of the measures of civil regimen. And this, I hope, will be esteemed a sufficient answer to—WHY SO MANY PRECAUTIONS TAKEN, &c. But the Reader will find this argument drawn out more at large, in my Remarks on the same kind of sophistry employed by Dr. SYKES.

But (says his Lordship) *would the hypothesis of a future state have been useless*, &c.? *Would there* (as his Lordship goes on) *have been any more impropriety in holding out those* [sanctions] *of one kind than those of another, because the Supreme Being, who disposed and ordered both, was in a particular manner present amongst them? Would an addition of rewards and punishments (more remote, but eternal, and in all respects far greater) to the catalogue, have had no effect? I think neither of these things can be said.* His Lordship totally mistakes the drift of the Argument of the *Divine Legation*, which infers no more, from the fact of the *omission*, than this, That the Jewish Economy, administered by an *extraordinary* Providence, could do

do without the service of the *omitted* Doctrine; not, that that Doctrine, even under such a Dispensation, was *of no use*, much less that it was IMPROPER. But then one of his Followers will be ready to say, "If a *future state* was not *improper*, much more if it was of *use*, under an extraordinary dispensation, How came MOSES not to give it?" I reply, for great and wise ends of Providence vastly countervailing the use of that Doctrine, which, in the last volume of this work, will be explained at large.

Lord Bolingbroke proceeds next to tell us, what occurs to Him, concerning the REASONS of the *omission*; and previously assures us he is *not over-solicitous about their weight*. This, I suppose, is to make his *Counters* pass current: For then they become the *money of fools*, as Hobbes expresses it, when we cease to be *solicitous* about their worth; when we try them by their colour, not their weight; their Rhetoric, and not their Logic. However, this must be said with an exception to the first, which is altogether logical, and very diverting.

If (says his Lordship) *the doctrine of the immortality of the soul and a future state had been revealed to Moses, that he might teach them to the Israelites, he would have taught them most certainly. But he did not teach them. They were, therefore, not revealed.* It is in mood and figure, you see; and, I warrant you, designed to supply what was wanting in the *Divine Legation:* Though, as the Author of that book certainly believed these *doctrines were not revealed*, 'tis ten to one but he thought Moses was not at liberty to teach them: Unless you can suppose that his Lordship, who believed nothing of Revelation, might believe Moses to be restrained from teaching what God had not revealed to him; and yet, that the Author of the *Divine*

Legation, who held Moses's pretensions to be true, might think him at liberty to go beyond his Commission. Thus far, then, we may be said to agree: But this good understanding does not last long. His Lordship's *modesty* and my *pertness* soon make the breach as wide as ever.—*Why they were not so revealed* (says his Lordship) *some* PERT DIVINE *or other will be ready to tell you. For me, I dare not pretend to guess.* My forwardness, and his Lordship's backwardness, are equally well suited to our respective principles. Should his Lordship have guessed, it might have brought him to what he most dreaded, the divine original of the Jewish Religion: Had I forborn to guess, I had betrayed my cause, and left those DATA unemployed, which enabled me, I do not say to guess, but to discover, and to *demonstrate the Divine Legation of Moses.*

However, *This*, his Lordship *will presume to advance, that since these doctrines were not revealed by God to his servant* MOSES, *it is highly probable, that the Legislator made a scruple of teaching them to the Israelites, howsoever well instructed he might be in them himself, and howsoever useful to Government he might think them.*

Here, you see, he personates a Believer, who holds MOSES to be an inspired Lawgiver: But observe how poorly he sustains his part! Either MOSES did indeed receive the LAW from God, or he did not. If he did not, Why are we mocked with the distinction between what was revealed, and what was not revealed, when nothing was revealed? If MOSES did receive the *Law* from God, Why are we still worse mocked with the distinction between what was revealed, and what was not revealed, when every thing regarding the Dispensation must needs be revealed; as well, the direction

to

to omit *a Future State*, as the direction to *inculcate the Unity of the Godhead?* Why was all this mockery? the Reader asks. For a very good purpose: it was to draw us from the TRUE object of our inquiry, which is, What GOD intended by the *omission*; to that FANTASTIC object, which only respects what MOSES intended by it. For the intention of GOD supposes the mission and inspiration of a Prophet; but the intention of MOSES, when considered in contradistinction to the intention of God, terminates in the human views of a mere politic Lawgiver; which leads us back again to Infidelity.

But he soon strips Moses of his Mission, and leaves him to cool, in Querpo, under his civil character as before. And here he considers, What it was, which under this character, might induce Moses to *omit* a future state; and he finds it to be, lest this doctrine should have hurt the doctrine of the UNITY, which it was his purpose to inculcate amongst his People, in opposition to the Egyptian Polytheism.

Moses (says his Lordship), *it is highly probable, made a scruple of teaching these Doctrines to the Israelites, howsoever well instructed he might be in them himself, and howsoever useful to Government he might think them. The People of Egypt, like all other nations, were Polytheists, but different from all others: there was in Egypt an inward as well as outward Doctrine: Natural Theology and natural Religion were the* INWARD *Doctrine; while Polytheism, Idolatry, and* ALL THE MYSTERIES, *all the impieties and follies of magic, were the* OUTWARD *Doctrine. Moses was initiated into those Mysteries where the secret doctrine alone was taught, and the outward exploded.*—For an accurate as well as just Divider, commend me to his Lordship. In distinguishing between

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the *inward* and *outward* doctrines of the Egyptians, he puts *all the mysteries* amongst the *outward*:— though if they had an *inward*, it must necessarily be part of those *Mysteries*. But he makes amends presently (but his amends to truth is, as it should be, always at the expence of a contradiction), and directly says, that MOSES LEARNT THE INWARD DOCTRINE IN THE MYSTERIES. Let this pass: He proceeds— *Moses had the knowledge of both outward and inward. Not so the Israelites in general. They knew nothing more than the outside of the Religion of Egypt. And if a future state was known to them, it was known only in the superstitious rites, and with all the fabulous circumstances, in which it was dressed up and presented to the vulgar belief. It would be hard therefore to teach or to renew this doctrine in the minds of the Israelites, without giving them an occasion the more to recal the Polytheistical fables, and practise the idolatrous rites they had learnt during the Captivity.*

The Children of Israel, it seems, *knew no more of a future state, than by the superstitious rites and fabulous circumstances with which it was dressed up and presented to the public belief.* What then? MOSES, he owns, *knew more.* And what hindered MOSES from communicating of his knowledge to the People, when he took them under his protection, and gave them a new Law and a new Religion? His Lordship gives us to understand that this People knew as little of the UNITY; for he tells us, it was amongst the *inward* Doctrines of the Egyptians: yet this did not hinder Moses from instructing his people in the doctrine of the Unity. What then should hinder his teaching them the *inward* doctrine of a future state, divested of its fabulous circumstances? He had divested

vested *Religious worship* of the absurdities of Demi-Gods and Heroes; What should hinder him from divesting a *future state* of Charon's boat and the Elysian fields? But the notion of a future state would have recalled those fabulous circumstances which had been long connected with it. And was not Religious worship, under the idea of a *tutelar Deity*, and a *temporal King*, much more apt to recal the polytheism of Egypt? Yet Moses ventured upon this inconvenience, for the sake of great advantages: Why should he not venture on the other, for the sake of greater? for the doctrine of a future state is, as his Lordship confesses, even necessary both to civil and religious Society. But what does he talk of the danger of giving entry to the fables and superstitions concerning the Soul (superstitions, which, though learnt indeed in the Captivity, were common to all the nations under Polytheism) when in other places he assures us, that Moses indulged the Israelites in the most characteristic superstitions of Egypt?

However, let us see how he supports this profound observation. *Rites and Ceremonies* (says his Lordship) *are often so equivocal, that they may be applied to very different doctrines. But when they are so closely connected with a doctrine, that they are not applicable to another, to teach the doctrine is,* IN SOME SORT, *to teach the rites and ceremonies.—In some sort*, is well put in, to soften the deformity of this inverted logic. His point is to shew that a superstitious Rite, relating to, and dependent on, a certain doctrine, will obtrude itself whenever that Doctrine is taught: and his reasoning is only calculated to prove, that where the Rite is practised, the Doctrine will soon follow. This may indeed be true. But then it does not hold in the converse, that the Rite follows the Doctrine: because

because a Principal may stand without its Dependent: but a Dependent can never subsist without its Principal.

Under cover of these grotesque shapes, into which his Lordship has travestied the Jewish Lawgiver, he concludes, that MOSES *being* AT LIBERTY *to teach this doctrine of rewards and punishments in a future state, or not to teach it, he might very well chuse the latter*—Yet it was but at the very beginning of this paragraph that he tells us, *Moses was* NOT AT LIBERTY *to teach or not to teach.* His words are these, *Since this doctrine was not revealed by God to his servant Moses, it is highly probable that this Legislator* MADE A SCRUPLE *of teaching it.* But his Lordship very well knows that Statesmen soon get the better of their *scruples*; and then, by another fetch of political casuistry, find themselves more at liberty than ever.

I had observed above, that our noble Discourser, who makes MOSES so *scrupulous* that he would, on no terms, afford a handle for one single superstition of Egypt to get footing among his people, has, on other occasions, charged him with introducing them in the lump. He was sensible that his Inconsistency was likely to be detected, and therefore he now attempts to obviate it.—*Though he* [Moses] *indulged the Israelites, on account of the hardness of their hearts, and by the divine permission, as it is presumed, in several observations and customs, which did not* LEAD *directly, though even they did so perhaps* IN CONSEQUENCE, *to the Polytheism and Idolatry of Egypt.* And could the teaching the doctrine of a future state possibly do more than LEAD IN CONSEQUENCE (as his Lordship elegantly expresses it) *to the Polytheism and Idolatry of Egypt*, by drawing after it those *superstitious*

superstitious Rites and fabulous circumstances, which, he tells us, then attended the popular notion of such a State? If, for the *hardness of their hearts*, they were indulged in *several observances and customs*, which only *led in consequence* to Polytheism and Idolatry, Why, for the *same* hardness of heart, were they not indulged with the doctrine of a future state, which did not lead, but by a very remote consequence, to Polytheism and Idolatry? Especially since this *hardness of heart* would less bear denying them a DOCTRINE so alluring to the human mind, than denying them a RITE, to which habit only and old custom had given an occasional propensity. Again, those Rites indulged to the People, for the *hardness of their hearts*, had, in themselves, little use or tendency to advance the ends of the Jewish Dispensation; but rather retarded them: Whereas a future state, by his Lordship's own confession, is *most useful to all Religions, and therefore incorporated into all the Systems of Paganism*; and was particularly useful to the Israelites, who were, he says, both a *rebellious* and a *superstitious* People: dispositions, which not only made it necessary to omit nothing that might inforce obedience, but likewise facilitated the reception and supported the influence of the doctrine in question.

The Reader has here the whole of his Lordship's boasted Solution of this important Circumstance of the OMISSION, in the Mosaic Law. And he sees how vainly this Resolver of doubts labours to elude its force. Overwhelmed, as it were, with the weight of so irresistible a Power, after long wriggling to get free, he at length crawls forth; but so maimed and broken, so impotent and fretful, that all his remaining strength is in his venom. And this, he now sheds in abundance over the whole Mosaic Economy. It is pronounced

pronounced to be a gross imposture; and this very circumstance of the OMISSION is given as an undoubted proof of the accusation.

—" Can we be surprised then (says his Lordship) " that the Jews ascribed to the all-perfect Being, on " various occasions, such a conduct and such Laws as " are inconsistent with his most obvious perfections? " Can we believe such a conduct and such Laws to " have been his, on the word of the proudest and " most lying Nation in the world? Many other con- " siderations might have their place here. But I shall " confine myself to one; *which I do not remember to* " *have seen nor heard urged on one side, nor* ANTI- " CIPATED *on the other.* To shew then, the more " evidently, how ABSURD, as well as IMPIOUS it is to " ascribe these Mosaical Laws to God, let it be con- " sidered, that NEITHER the people of Israel, nor " their Legislator perhaps, KNEW ANY THING OF " ANOTHER LIFE, wherein the crimes committed in " this life are to be punished. Although he might " have learned this Doctrine, which was not so much " a secret doctrine, as it may be presumed that the " Unity of the supreme God was, amongst the Egyp- " tians. Whether he had learned both or either, or " neither of them in those schools, cannot be deter- " mined: BUT THIS MAY BE ADVANCED WITH " ASSURANCE; If MOSES knew, that crimes, and " therefore Idolatry, one of the greatest, were to be " punished in another life, he deceived the people in " the Covenant they made, by his intervention, with " God. If he did not know it, I say it with horror, " the consequence, *according to the hypothesis I oppose,* " must be, that God deceived both him and them. In " either case, a covenant or bargain was made, wherein " the conditions of obedience and disobedience were

" not

" not fully, nor by consequence, fairly stated. The " Israelites had better things to hope, and worse to " fear, than those which were expressed in it: and " their whole history seems to shew how much need " they had of these additional motives to restrain them " from Polytheism and Idolatry, and to answer the " assumed Purposes of Divine Providence*."

This argument, *advanced with* so much *assurance*, his Lordship says, he does *not remember to have seen, or heard urged on one side, nor anticipated on the other.* A gentle reproof, as we are to understand it, of the Author of the *Divine Legation:* for none but He, I think, could *anticipate* an objection to an ARGUMENT which none but He had employed. However, though it be now too late to *anticipate*, we have still time enough to answer.

Let it be considered (says his Lordship) *that perhaps Moses* KNEW NOTHING *of another life, wherein the crimes committed in this life are to be punished.—Considered* by whom? Not by his Lordship, or his kind Readers: for his former reasoning, which I will here again repeat, had brought them to *consider* otherwise. These are his words: " Many probable reasons might " be brought to shew, that this was an Egyptian doc- " trine before the Exode; and this particularly, that it " was propagated from Egypt, so soon at least after- " wards, by all those who were instructed LIKE " MOSES, in the wisdom of that People. He trans- " ported much of this wisdom into the scheme of " Religion and Government which he gave the " Israelites; and, among other things, certain Rites, " which SEEM TO ALLUDE, OR HAVE A REMOTE " RELATION, TO THIS DOCTRINE†." This possibly might have recurred to his Lordship, while he was

* Vol. v. pp. 194, 195. † Vol. v. pp. 328, 9.

boasting

boasting of his new and *unanticipated* objection; and therefore, in the tricking it up amongst his FRAGMENTS, to his *perhaps*, he adds, by a very happy corrective, *although Moses might have learnt this Doctrine, which* WAS NOT SO MUCH A SECRET *doctrine, as it may be presumed that the Unity of the supreme God was amongst the Egyptians.* But he had done better to leave his contradictions uncorrected, and trust to the rare sagacity of his Readers to find them out. He had ever an ill hand at reconciling matters; so in the case before us, in the very act of covering one contradiction, he commits another. He is here speaking of a future state, divested of its fabulous circumstances; *Perhaps*, says he, MOSES KNEW NOTHING OF ANOTHER LIFE —*Which was* NOT SO MUCH A SECRET *doctrine as that of the Unity.* Now, Reader, turn back a moment, to the long quotation from his 239th page, and there thou wilt find, that a future state, divested of its fabulous circumstances, WAS AS MUCH A SECRET *Doctrine, as that of the Unity.*—"There is reason to believe, "that natural Theology and natural Religion were "INWARD doctrines amongst the Egyptians. MOSES "might be let into a knowledge of BOTH by being "initiated into those *Mysteries* where the *secret* doc- "trine alone was taught. But we cannot imagine, "that the Children of Israel in general enjoyed the "same privilege. No, *they knew nothing more than* "*the outside* of the Egyptian Religion: and if the "*Doctrine we speak of* [A FUTURE STATE] was "known to them, it was known only in the super- "stitious Rites, and with all the fabulous circumstances, "in which it was dressed up and presented to vulgar "belief."—Is not this, now, a plain declaration, that a *future state*, divested of its fabulous circumstances, *was as much a secret Doctrine as the doctrine of the Unity?*

But

But his Lordship's contradictions are the least of my concern. It is his present Argument I have now to do with: And this, he says, he *advances* WITH ASSURANCE. It is fit he should. *Modesty* would be very ill bestowed on such opinions.

He thinks he can reduce those who hold no future state in the Jewish Economy, to the necessity of owning, that MOSES, *or that* GOD *himself, acted unfairly by the Israelites.* How so, You ask? Because One or Other of them concealed that *state.* And what if they did? Why then they concealed one of the actual Sanctions of moral conduct, *future punishment.* But who told him, that this, which, he confesses, was no sanction of the *Jewish Law*, was yet a Sanction in the moral conduct of the *Jewish People?* Who, unless the ARTIFICIAL THEOLOGER? the man he most despises and decries.

And, even in *artificial Theology*, there is nothing but the CALVINISTICAL tenet of *Original Sin*, which gives the least countenance to so monstrous an opinion; every thing in the GOSPEL, every thing in NATURAL THEOLOGY, exclaims against it.

JESUS, indeed, to prove that the departed Israelites still existed, quotes the title God was pleased to give himself, of *the God of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob*; and this, together with their *existence*, proves likewise the *happiness* of their condition: for the relation they are said to stand in with God, shews them to be of his Kingdom. But we must remember, that the question with his Lordship is, not of *reward*, but *punishment.* Again, JESUS speaks (indeed in a parable) of the deceased *rich man*, as *in a place of torment.* But we must remember that the scene was laid at a time when the Doctrine of a *future state* was become national. To know our heavenly Master's sentiments on the

question of *subjection to an unknown Sanction*, we should do well to consider his words, "The servant "which knew his Lord's will, and prepared not him-"self, neither did according to his will, shall be "beaten with many stripes; but he that knew not, "and did commit things worthy of stripes, shall be "beaten with few stripes*." Now the will of a Master or Sovereign, declared in his Laws, never includes in it more than the *Sanctions* of those Laws. The Author of the Epistle to the *Hebrews* expressly distinguishes the sanction of the Jewish law from that of the Gospel; and makes the difference to consist in this, that the one was of *temporal* punishments, and the other of *future*. *He that despised Moses's Law* DIED *without mercy, under two or three witnesses: Of how* MUCH SORER PUNISHMENT, *suppose ye, shall he be thought worthy, who hath trodden under foot the Son of God*†? Which appeal is without common sense or honesty, on a supposition that the apostle held the Jews to be subject to *future* punishments, before that Sanction was promulged amongst them. From the GOSPEL therefore it cannot be inferred, that the Israelites, while only following the Law of Moses, in which the sanction of a *future state* is not found, were liable or subject to the punishments of that state.

Let us see next, Whether NATURAL THEOLOGY, or *natural Religion* (as his Lordship is pleased, for some reason or other, to distinguish the terms), hath taught us, that a people, living under an *extraordinary Providence* or the immediate government of God, to whom he had given a Law and revealed a Religion, both supported by *temporal* sanctions only, could be deemed subject to those *future* punishments, unknown to them, which *natural* Religion before, and *revealed*

* Luke xii. 47, 8. † Heb. x. 28, 9.

Religion

Religion since, have discovered to be due to bad men living under a *common Providence.*

NATURAL RELIGION standeth on this Principle, "That the Governor of the Universe REWARDS and "PUNISHES moral Agents." The length or shortness of human existence comes not primarily into the idea of Religion; not even into that complete idea of Religion delivered by St. Paul, in his general definition of it. The Religionist, says he, *must believe that God is, and that he* IS A REWARDER *of those who seek him.*

While God exactly distributed his rewards and punishments *here*, the light of reason directed men to look no further for the Sanctions of his Laws. But when it came to be seen, that He was *not always* a Rewarder and a Punisher *here*, men necessarily concluded, from his moral attributes, that he would be so, *hereafter:* and consequently, that this life was but a small portion of the human duration. Men had not yet speculated on the permanent nature of the Soul: And when they did so, that consideration, which, under an *ordinary* Providence, came strongly in aid of the *moral argument* for another life, had no tendency, under the *extraordinary*, to open to them the prospects of *futurity:* because, though they saw the Soul unaffected by those causes which brought the body to destruction, yet they held it to be equally dependent on the Will of the Creator: Who, amongst the various means of its dissolution (of which they had no idea), had, for aught they knew, provided one, or more than one, for that purpose.

In this manner was a FUTURE STATE brought, by natural light, into Religion: and from thenceforth became a necessary part of it. But under the Jewish THEOCRACY, God was an exact Rewarder and

Punisher, *here*. Natural light therefore evinced that under such an administration, the subjects of it did not become liable to *future* Punishments till this sanction was known amongst them.

Thus NATURAL and REVEALED RELIGION shew, that his Lordship calumniated both, when he affirmed, that *according to the hypothesis he opposed*, MOSES DECEIVED *the people in the Covenant they made, by his intervention with God: Or that, if Moses did not know the doctrine of a future state, then* GOD DECEIVED *both him and them.*

Should it be asked, how God will deal with wicked men thus dying under the Mosaic Dispensation? I will answer, in the words of Dr. SAM. CLARKE, on a like occasion. He had demonstrated a self-moving Substance to be immaterial, and so, not perishable like Bodies. But, as this demonstration included the Souls of irrational animals, it was asked, "How these were to be disposed of, when they had left their respective habitations?" To which he very properly replies, "Certainly, the omnipotent and infinitely wise God "may, without any great difficulty, be supposed to "have more ways of disposing of his Creatures" [I add, with perfect justice and equity, and with equal measure, to all his creatures as well accountable as unaccountable] "than we are, at present, let into the "secret of*."—But if the Author of the *Divine Legation* has not promised more than he can perform (as his long delay gives his well-wishers cause to suspect and his ill-wishers to hope) this matter will be explained at large, in his account of the SCRIPTURE DOCTRINE OF THE REDEMPTION, which, he has told us, is to have a place in his last Volume.

* Octavo Tracts against Dodwell and Collins, p. 103.

Nothing

Nothing now remains of this objection but what relates to the sanction of *future rewards:* And I would by no means deprive the faithful Israelites of these. His Lordship therefore has this to make his best of: and, in his opinion, the bestowing even of a *reward*, to which one has no title, is foul dealing; for he joins it with *punishment*, as if his consequence, against God's justice and goodness, might be equally deduced from either of them.—*A covenant*, says he, *was made, wherein the conditions of obedience and disobedience were not* FULLY, *nor, by consequence,* FAIRLY *stated. The Israelites had* BETTER THINGS TO HOPE, *and worse to fear, than those which were expressed in it.* Though it be hard on a generous *Benefactor* to be denied the right of giving more than he had promised; it is still harder on the poor *Dependant*, that he is not at liberty to receive more. True it is, that, in this case, the conditions are not FULLY stated; and therefore, according to his Lordship's Logic, BY CONSEQUENCE NOT FAIRLY. To strengthen this Consequence, his Lordship concludes in these words—*And their whole History seems to shew how much need they had of these additional motives* [future Rewards and Punishments] *to restrain them from Polytheism and Idolatry, and to answer the* ASSUMED *purposes of Divine Providence.*

Whoever puts all these things together—"That Moses was himself of the race of Israel—was learned in all the wisdom of Egypt—and capable of freeing his People from their Yoke—that he brought them within sight of the promised Land; a fertile Country, which they were to conquer and inhabit—that he instituted a system of Laws, which has been the admiration of the wisest men of all ages—that he understood the doctrine of a FUTURE STATE; and, by his

knowledge gained in Egypt, was not ignorant of the efficacy of it in general; and by his full experience of the rebellious and superstitious temper of his own People, could not but see how useful it would have been to them in particular."—Whoever, I say, puts all these things together (and all these things are amongst his Lordships CONCESSIONS) and at the same time considers, that MOSES, throughout his whole system of Law and Religion, is entirely silent concerning a future state of Rewards and Punishments, will, I believe, conclude, that there was something more in the OMISSION than Lord BOLINGBROKE could fathom, or, at least, was willing to discover.

But let us turn from MOSES's conduct, (which will be elsewhere considered at large) to his Lordship's, which is our present business.

1. First, he gives us his conjectures, to account for the *Omission*, exclusive of MOSES's *Divine Legation:* but, as if dissatisfied with them himself (which he well might be, for they destroy one another),

2. He next attempts, you see, to prove, that the *Legation* could not be *divine*, from this very circumstance of the *omission*.

3. But now he will go further, and demonstrate that an EXTRAORDINARY PROVIDENCE, such a one as is represented by Moses, and which, the Author of the *Divine Legation* has proved, from the circumstance of the OMISSION, was actually administered in the Jewish Republic, could not possibly be administered, without destroying *free-will*; without *making Virtue servile*; and without *relaxing universal benevolence.*

4. And lastly, to make all sure, he shuts up the account by shewing, that an *extraordinary* Providence could answer no reasonable end or purpose.

In his first and last order of evasions, he seems to be alone; but in the second and third, he had the pleasure of seeing many an orthodox Writer against the Divine Legation in CONFEDERACY with him, to use his Lordship's language, when he speaks of the good understanding between DIVINES and ATHEISTS.

I have examined his first and second order. The third and fourth remain to be considered; it is the last refuge of his infidelity.

1. His principal objection to the administration of an extraordinary Providence, such as MOSES promised to his people, on the part of GOD, is, that it would DESTROY FREE-WILL. But here let me observe, that he affects to disguise the immediate Object of his attack; and, in arguing against an *extraordinary Providence*, chuses to consider it in the general, as the point rises out of an imaginary dispute between Himself and the Divines; who, he pretends, are dissatisfied with the present order of things, and require, as the terms of their acquiescence in God's government, the administration of an *equal Providence, here*. But, this obliquity in disguising the true object of his attack, not being of itself sufficient to embarrass the question, he further supports it by a prevarication: for it is not true, that Divines are dissatisfied with the present order of things, or that they require a better. All the ground they ever gave his Lordship for imputing this scandal to them, being only their assertion, "That if the present state be the whole of Man's existence, then the justice of God would have more exactly dispensed good and evil *here:* but, as he has not done so, it follows, that there will be a state of Rewards and Punishments *hereafter*."

This premised, I proceed to his first objection:— "In good earnest (says his Lordship) is a system of

" particular providences, in which the Supreme Being, " or his Angels, like his Ministers to reward, and his " Executioners to punish, are constantly employed in " the affairs of mankind, much more reasonable?" [than the *Gods* of EPICURUS or the *morals* of POLEMO]. " Would the JUSTICE of God be more " MANIFEST in such a state of things than in the " present? I see no room for MERIT on the part of " Man, nor for JUSTICE on the part of God, in such " a state *."

His Lordship asks, *whether the Justice of God would be more manifest* in such a state of things, where good is constantly dispensed to the virtuous, and evil to the wicked, *than in the present*, where good and evil happen indifferently to all men? If his Lordship, by *the present state of things*, includes the rectification of them in a future state, I answer, that the *justice of God would not be more manifest*, but equally and fully manifest in either case. If his Lordship does not include this rectification in a future state, then I answer his question by another: Would the Justice of the Civil Magistrate be more manifest, where he exactly dispenses rewards to good men, and punishment to evil, than where he suffers the Cunning and the Powerful to carve for themselves?

But *he sees no room for merit on the part of Man, nor Justice on the part of God.* If he does not see, it is his own fault. It is owing to his prevaricating both with himself and his Reader; to the turning his view from the Scripture-representation of an equal Providence, to the iniquities of Calvinistical *election*, and to the partialities of Fanatics concerning the favoured workings of the Spirit; and to his giving these to the reader, in its stead. How dexterously does he

* Vol. v. pp. 425, 6.

slide

slide *Enthusiasm* and *Predestination* into the Scripture doctrine of an equal Providence!—*If some men were* DETERMINED TO GOODNESS *by the secret workings of the Spirit*, &c. Yes indeed, if you will be so kind to allow him, that under an equal Providence, the Will is overruled, he will be able to shew you, there is an end of all merit and demerit. But this substituting ARTIFICIAL THEOLOGY (as he calls it when he is in an humour to abuse it) in the place of Bible-theology, is his usual leger-de-main. So again,—*I can conceive still less, that individual Creatures before they have done either good or evil, nay, before their actual existence, can be the objects of predilection or aversion, of love or hatred, to God.* Who, of the Gospel Divines, against whom he is here writing, would have him *conceive* any thing of this at all? It is the ARTIFICIAL THEOLOGER, the depraver, as he says, of the Gospel, who would draw him into so absurd a system. But what has this exploded *Theology*, that abounds only in human inventions, to do with the extraordinary Providence, represented in holy Writ! To say, that this Providence takes away man's merit and God's justice, is confounding all our ideas of right and wrong. Is it not the highest merit of a rational creature to comply with that motive which has most real weight? And is not God's justice then most manifest, when the order of things present fewest difficulties and obscurities in our contemplation of it? His Lordship was plainly in these sentiments, when, arguing against God's compliance with the Jewish *hardness of heart*, he thought it more becoming the Master of the Universe, to bend the perverse stiffness of their Wills: and, when, arguing against a *future state* from the present good order of things, he will shew, he says, AGAINST DIVINES

AND

AND ATHEISTS IN CONJUNCTION, that there is little or no irregularity in the present dispensations of Providence; at least, not so much as the World commonly imagine. And why was this paradox advanced, but from a consciousness that the more exact the present administration of God's providence appeared, the more manifest it made his Justice? But now his Lordship's followers may be apt to say, that their Master has here done no more, indeed scarce so much, at least not in so express terms, as a celebrated Prelate, in one of his *discourses* at the *Temple*; who tells us, "That an immediate and visible interposition of "Providence in Behalf of the righteous, and for the "punishment of the wicked, would INTERFERE "WITH THE FREEDOM OF MORAL AGENTS, AND "NOT LEAVE ROOM FOR THEIR TRIAL*." But they who object this to us, have not considered the nature of moral differences. For, as another learned Prelate well observes, *A little experience may convince us, that the same thing, at different times, is not the same*†. Now if *different times* may make such alterations in identity, what must *different men* do? The *thing said* being by all candid interpretation to be regulated on the *purpose of saying*.

2. Lord Bolingbroke's second objection against an equal Providence is, that it would MAKE VIRTUE SERVILE.—"If the Good, besides the enjoyment of "all that happiness which is inseparable from Virtue, "were exempted from all kinds of evil, and if the "Wicked, besides all those evils which are inseparable from Vice, and those which happen to all "men in the ordinary course of events, were exposed

* Vol. ii. pp. 258, 9.

† *Scripture vindicated from the misrepresentations of the Bishop of Bangor*, p. 165.

"to

" to others that the hand of God inflicted on them " in an extraordinary manner, such good men would " have VERY LITTLE MERIT; they would have, " while they continued to be good, no other merit " than that of children, who are cajoled into their " duty; or than that of Galley-slaves, who ply at the " oar, because they hear and see and fear the lash of " the boatswain *."

If the perfection of a rational Creature consist in acting according to reason; and if his merit rises in proportion as he advances in perfection; How can that state, which best secures him from acting irrationally, lessen or take away his merit? Are the actions of the Deity of less worth for his moral incapacity of being unjust or malignant? The motive which induces to right action is indeed more or less *excellent* according to the dignity or nature of the Agent: But the question here is not concerning the *excellence*, but the *power* of the motive to turn ACTION into PASSION; which is the only way I can conceive of destroying *merit* in the subject. Now I hold, that this fancy, That motives exterior to the Being on which they work, are able to turn an Agent to a Patient, is one of the greatest of *Physical* absurdities; and therefore commonly goes about disguised, in the garb of *Metaphysics*. For while AGENCY remains, MERIT subsists: the degrees of which do not depend on the less or greater force which the motives have on the affections, but on the more or less reason of the choice. In a word, there is no other way of taking away the merit and demerit of human actions, than by taking away agency, and making MAN passive, or, in other terms, A MACHINE.

But, to expose in a more popular way the futility

* Vol. v. p. 428.

of

of this reasoning, it will be sufficient to observe, that the objection holds equally against all religious Sanctions whatsoever. And so indeed it was fairly urged by Lord Shaftesbury: who pretended that every motive regarding SELF, tended to servilize Virtue. Without doubt, one sort, just as much as another; a *future state*, just as well as an *equal Providence*. Nay, if we were to appreciate matters very nicely, it would seem, that *a future state without an equal providence* (for they are always to be considered separately, as they belong to different Dispensations) would more strongly incline the Will, than *an equal providence without a future state:* as the value of *future* above *present* good is, in this case, immensely great. But the human mind being so constituted, that the *distance* of *good* takes off proportionably from its influence, this brings the force of the two sanctions nearer to an equality; which at length proves but this, That the objection to the *merit of Virtue* holds against all religious sanctions whatsoever. In the use of which objection, Lord Shaftesbury was not only more ingenuous, as he urged it against them *all*, but more consistent, as he urged it on his doctrine of a perfect *disinterestedness* in our nature; whereas Lord Bolingbroke is amongst those who hold, that *self-love* and *social*, though coincident, are two essential principles in the human frame.

" That two consistent motions act the Soul,
" And one regards ITSELF, and one the WHOLE."

But we might go further, and retort upon both these noble Adversaries of Religion, that the charge of *making virtue servile* affects all *moral*, as well as *religious* sanctions; as well that, whose existence they allow, as those which they would persuade us to be visionary;

visionary; both these illustrious Patrons of infidelity acknowledging that moral sanction which arises from *God's making the practice of virtue our* INTEREST *as well as duty**. Now *interest* and *servility* is, it seems, the same thing, with these generous Spirits, as it was with the good old woman, Joinville speaks of, amongst the Enthusiasts of Syria, who carried about a pan of live-coals in one hand, and a dish of cold water in the other, to burn up Paradise and to extinguish Hell, that men might be brought to serve God dispassionately, without hope or fear.—So near akin are Fanaticism and Free-thinking, that their nature betrays them even when they strive most to hide their common parentage.

His Lordship's third cavil to an equal Providence is, that it would RELAX GENERAL BENEVOLENCE.

—" But would there not be, at the same time, " some further defect in this scheme? I think there " would. It seems to me, that these good men being " thus distinguished by particular providences, in their " favour, from the rest of mankind, might be apt " either not to contract, or to LOSE THAT GENERAL " BENEVOLENCE, which is a fundamental Principle " of the Law of Nature, and that PUBLIC SPIRIT, " which is the life and soul of Society. God has " made the practice of morality our interest, as well " as our duty. But men who found themselves con- " stantly protected from the evils that fell on others, " might grow insensibly to think themselves uncon- " cerned in the common fate: and if they relaxed in " their zeal for the Public good, they would relax in " their virtue; for public good is the object of Virtue. " They might do worse; spiritual pride might infect " them. They might become in their own imaginations

* Vol. v. p. 429.

" the

" the little Flock, or the chosen Sheep. Others have " been so by the mere force of Enthusiasm, without " any such inducements as those which we assume, in " the same case; and experience has shewn, that there " are no Wolves like these Sheep*."

The *case assumed*, to which his Lordship objects, and against which he pretends to argue, is that of an *equal Providence which exactly distributes good to Virtue, and to Vice, evil.* Now the present objection to such a state is, an' please you, that this *favourable distinction* of good, to the virtuous man, would be apt to *destroy his general benevolence and public spirit.* These, in his Lordship's account, and so in mine too, are the most sublime of all Virtues; and therefore, it is agreed, they will be most highly rewarded: But the tendency of this *favourable distinction*, if you will believe him, may prove *the loss of general benevolence and public spirit.* As much as this shocks common sense, his Lordship has his reason. *God has made the practice of morality our* INTEREST *as well as duty. But men, who find themselves constantly protected from the evils that fall on others, might grow insensibly to think themselves unconcerned in the common fate.*

God has made the practice of morality our INTEREST *as well as duty.* Without doubt he has. But does it not continue to be our *interest*, under an equal, as well as under an unequal Providence? Nay, is it not more evidently and invariably so, in the absence of those inequalities which hinder our seeing clearly, and feeling constantly, that *the practice of morality is our* INTEREST *as well as duty?*

— *But men who found themselves constantly protected from the evils that fall on others, might grow insensibly to think themselves unconcerned in the*

* Vol. v. p. 429.

COMMON

COMMON FATE. What are those *evils*, under an equal Providence, which *fall on others*, and from which the good man is *protected?* Are they not the punishments inflicted on the wicked? And how is the good man protected from them? Is it not by his perseverance in Virtue? It is therefore impossible he should grow unconcerned to those evils which his Lordship calls the *common fate*, when he sees his *interest* and his duty so closely connected, that there is no way of avoiding those evils but by persevering in virtue. But the name of *common fate*, which he gives unto them, detects his prevarication. He pretends to reason against an equal Providence, yet slurs in upon us, in its stead, a *Providence which only protects good men; or rather one certain species of good men; and leaves all other to their* COMMON FATE. But admit it possible for the good man to *relax in his benevolence, and to grow insensible to the common fate:* there is, in *the state here assumed*, a speedy means of bringing him to himself; and that is, his being no longer *protected from the evils that fall on others:* for when men *relax in their benevolence*, his Lordship tells you, *they relax in their virtue:* and, give me leave to tell his Lordship, that when men relax in their virtue, an equal Providence relaxes in its protection; or, to speak more properly, the rewards of virtue are abated in proportion.

However, *spiritual pride* (he says) *might infect the virtuous, thus protected:* And this he will prove *à fortiori*, from the case of ENTHUSIASTS; who only imagine they have this protection, and have it not. Now, what if we should say, it is this very *enthusiastic spirit* itself, and not the visions of *Protection* it is apt to raise, which is the true cause of *spiritual pride?* ENTHUSIASM is that temper of mind, in which the imagination

imagination has got the better of the judgment. In this disordered state of things, Enthusiasm, when it happens to be turned upon religious matters, becomes FANATICISM: and this, in its extreme, begets the fancy of our being the peculiar favourites of Heaven. Now, every one sees, that SPIRITUAL PRIDE is the *cause*, and not the *effect* of the disorder. For what but spiritual pride, springing out of presumptive holiness, could bring the Fanatic to fancy himself exalted above the common condition of the Faithful? It is true, when he is got thus far, the folly which brought him hither, may carry him further; and then, all to come will be indeed the effect of his disorder. But suppose it were not the enthusiastic Spirit, but the visions of protection, it is apt to raise, which is the cause of spiritual pride; Is there no difference between a *vision* and a *reality?* Fancy may occasion those disorders which Fact may remove. This, I persuade myself, is the case here: The real communication of Grace purifies those passions, and exalts them into virtues, which the strong delusion of such a state only renders more gross and violent. And here it may be worth while to take notice, that his Lordship, in this objection to an extraordinary Providence, from the hurt it does to general benevolence, seems to have had the *Jewish People* in his eye; who in the latter ages of their Republic were commonly charged, and perhaps not altogether unjustly, with want of benevolence to the rest of mankind: a fact, which though it makes nothing for his purpose, makes very much for mine, as it furnishes me with an example to support what is here said of Fanaticism; an infirmity pretty general amongst the Jews of those Ages. They had outlived their extraordinary Providence; but not the memory, nor even the effects of it; nay, the warmer tempers

tempers were hardly brought to think it had ceased. This filled them with spiritual pride, as the elect of God; a disposition which, it is confessed, tends readily to destroy or to *relax* general benevolence. But what now are the natural consequences, which the actual administration of an equal Providence would have on the human mind? In this case, as in the other, a warm temper, whose object was Religion, would be obnoxious to the common weakness of our nature, and too apt to disgrace itself by spiritual pride: but as this is one of the vices which an equal Providence is always at hand to punish, the cure would be direct and speedy. The recovered Votary, we will now suppose to be received again into the number of the Good; and to find himself in the *little flock and chosen sheep*, as they are nick-named by this noble Writer. Well, but his danger is not yet over; the sense of this high prerogative of humanity might revive, in a warm temper, the still unmortified seeds of spiritual pride. Admit this to be the case; what follows? His pride revives indeed, but it is only to be again humbled: for punishment is still closely attendant on vice and folly. At length, this holy discipline, the necessary consequence of an equal Providence, effectually does its work; it purifies the mind from low and selfish partialities, and adorns the Will with general benevolence, public spirit, and love of all its fellow-creatures.

What then could support his Lordship in so perverse a judgment concerning the state and condition of good men under an equal Providence? That which supports all his other insults on Religion; his sophistical change of the question. He objects to an equal Providence (which, Religionists pretend, hath been administered during one period of the Dispensation of Grace) where good men are constantly rewarded, and wicked men as

constantly punished; and he takes the matter of his objection from the fanatical idea of a *favoured elect* (which never existed but in over-heated brains), where reward and punishment are distributed, not on the proportions of merit and demerit, but on the diabolic dreams of certain eternal decrees of election and reprobation, unrelated to any human principle of justice.

But now, Reader, keep the question steadily in your eye, and his Lordship's reasoning in this paragraph discloses such a complication of absurdities as will astonish you. You see an equal Providence, which, in and through the very act of rewarding benevolence, public spirit, and humility, becomes instrumental in producing, in those so rewarded, selfishness, neglect of the public, and spiritual pride.

His Lordship's last objection to an extraordinary Providence is, that it would NOT ANSWER ITS END.

" I will conclude this head (says he) by observing, " that we have *example* as well as *reason* for us, when " we reject the hypothesis of particular Providences. " God was the king of the Jewish People. His pre- " sence resided amongst them, and his justice was " manifested daily in rewarding and punishing by " unequivocal, signal, and miraculous interpositions " of his power. The effect of all was this, the " People rebelled at one time and repented at another. " Particular Providences, directed by God himself " immediately, upon the spot, if I may say so, had " particular temporal effects only, none general " nor lasting: and the People were so little satisfied " with this system of Government that they deposed " the supreme Being, and insisted to have another " King, and to be governed like their neighbours *.

* Vol. v. p. 430.

In

In support of this last objection, the Reader sees, his Lordship was forced to throw off the mask, and fairly to tell us what he aimed at; that is to say, to discredit the extraordinary Providence mentioned by Moses. An equal Providence, says he, will not answer its *end.* What is its end? Here, his prevarications bring us, as usual, to our distinctions.—When this Providence is administered for the sake of *Particulars*, its first end is to discipline us in virtue, and keep us in our duty: When administered for the sake of a *Community*, its first end is to support the Institution it had erected. Now his Lordship, proceeding from reason to example, gives us this of the Jewish Republic, to prove that an equal or extraordinary Providence does not answer one or other or both these ends.

But it is unlucky for him, that here, where he employs the example, he cannot forbear, any more than in numberless other places of his writings, to tell us that he believes nothing of the matter.—*How long this Theocracy may be said to have continued* (says he) *I am quite unconcerned to know, and should be sorry to mispend my time in inquiring.* The example then is unreal, and only brought as an argument *ad hominem.* But, the misfortune is, that no laws of good reasoning will admit such an argument *ad hominem* on this question, *Of the* EFFECTS *of a* REAL *extraordinary Providence*; because the nature of the effects of a REAL Providence can never be discovered by the effects of a PRETENDED one. To say the truth, his Lordship is at present out of luck. For had he indeed believed the extraordinary Providence of the Jews to be *real*, his own representation of the case would, on his own principles, have proved it but *pretended.* For 'tis a principle with him, that where the

means do not produce the end, such means (all pretences notwithstanding) are but human inventions. It is thus he argues against the Divinity of the Christian Religion; which he concludes to be an imposture from its not having effected that lasting reformation of manners, which he supposes was its principal design to accomplish.

So far as to the CHOICE of his example. He manages no better in the APPLICATION of it.

We have distinguished, concerning the *ends* of an extraordinary Providence. Let us suppose now, that his Lordship takes the principal end of the Jewish Theocracy to be the reformation of *Particulars*. He refers to their history, and pretends to shew they were not reformed. Now, whatever other consequences may attend this supposed Fact, the most obvious and glaring is this, That his Lordship, in proceeding from *reason* to *example*, has given us such an example as overturns or supersedes all his reasoning. According to his reasoning, an extraordinary Providence would tie virtue and good manners so fast down upon every Individual, that his very Will would be forced, and the merit of doing what he had not in his power to forbear, absolutely destroyed. The Reader would now perhaps expect his example should confirm this pretended Fact? Just otherwise. His example shews his fact to be a fiction, and that men remained as bad as ever.

But I have no need of taking any artificial advantage of his Lordship's bad reasoning. For, when we see it so constantly opposed to truth, it is far from being an additional discredit to it, that it is as constantly opposed to itself.

The truth indeed is, that the great and principal end of the JEWISH THEOCRACY, was to keep that People a separate

a separate nation, under their own Law and Religion, till the coming of the MESSIAH; and to prepare things for his reception by preserving amongst them the doctrine of the UNITY. Now, to judge whether the Theocracy or extraordinary Providence effected its end, we have only to consider, Whether this people, to the coming of Christ, did continue a distinct Nation separated from all the other tribes of Mankind, and distinguished from them, by the worship of the one true God. And on enquiry, we shall find, they not only did continue thus distinct and distinguished, but have so continued ever since. A Circumstance which, having no example amongst any other People, is sufficient to convince us, that there must have been some amazing power in that Theocracy, which could go on operating for so many ages after the extraordinary administration of it had ceased. Let us conclude therefore, that his Lordship having nothing to urge against the due efficacy of this extraordinary Providence, but that, *the people rebelled at one time and repented at another, and that this Providence had only temporary effects*, is the most ample confession of his defeat.

NOTES

ON

BOOK V.

P. 5. [A]

YET some writers against the Divine Legation will have it, that from the very context [ver. 16, 17. *To Abraham and his seed were the promises made*, &c. *The* COVENANT *that was confirmed before of God in Christ*, &c.] it appears that St. Paul means, the Law was ADDED not barely to the Patriarchal Religion, but to *the promise of the inheritance, the covenant that was confirmed before of God*; and from thence, conclude that the Jewish Religion had the doctrine of a future state. This it is to have a retrospective view, and with a *microscopic eye!* For had they, when they went *one* step backward, but gone *two*, they would have seen, St. Paul could not possibly have had their meaning in view, for at ver. 15, he expressly says,—though it be but a MAN'S COVENANT [much less if it be GOD'S] *yet if it be confirmed, no man disannulleth or* ADDETH *thereto.* The *Law* therefore mentioned as ADDED in the 19th verse, cannot be understood, in the Apostle's sense, as being added to the COVENANT *that was confirmed before of God in Christ*, or indeed to any thing, but to the Patriarchal Religion of the Unity.

P. 20. [B] —Il [Ninus fils de Belus] ne peut être inventeur de l'idolatrie qui etoit bien plus ancienne; je ne dis pas seulement en Egypte, mais même au dela de l'Euphrate, puisque Rachel deroba les Teraphims,

raphims, &c.—Il faut aller en Egypte pour trouver sur cela quelque chose du mieux fondé. Grotius croit que, du temps de Joseph, l'idolatrie n'etoit point encore commune en Egypt. Cependant on voit des-lors dans ce pays un extrême attachement à la magie, à la divination, aux augures, à l'interpretation des songes, &c. —Moyse defend d'adorer aucune figure, ni de ce qui est visible dans les cieux ni de ce qui est sur la terre, ni de ce qui est dans les eaux. Voilà la defense generale d'adorer les astres, les animaux, & les poissons. Le veau d'or etoit une imitation du dieu Apis. La niche de Moloch, dont parle Amos, étoit apparemment portée avec une figure du soleil. Moyse defend aux Hebreux d'immoler aux boucs, comme ils ont fait autrefois. La mort en l'honneur duquel il defend de faire le deûil, etoit le même qu'Osiris. Beelphegor, aux mysteres duquel ils furent entrainez par les femmes de Madian, étoit Adonis. Moloch cruelle divinité, à laquelle on immoloit des victimes humaines, étoit commune du tems de Moyse, aussi-bien que ces abominables sacrifices. Les Chananeens adoroient des moûches & d'autres insectes, au rapport de l'auteur de la sagesse. Le même auteur nous parle des Egyptiens d'alors comme d'un peuple plongé dans toutes sortes d'abominations, & qui adoroit toutes sortes d'animaux, même les plus dangereux, & les plus nuisibles. Le pays de Chanaan étoit encore plus corrumpu. Moyse ordonne d'y abbattre les autels, les bois sacrez, les idoles, les monumens superstitieux. Il parle des enclos, où l'on entretenoit un feu eternel en l'honneur du soleil. Voilà la plus indubitable epoque qui nous ayons de l'idolatrie. Mais ce n'est point une epoque qui nous en montre sa source & le commencement, ni même le progrès & l'avancement: elle nous présente une idolatrie achevée, & portée à son comble; les astres, les hommes, les animaux mêmes adorez comme autant divinitez; la magie, la divination, l'impieté au plus haut point où elles puissent aller: enfin le crime, & les desordres honteux, suites

ordinaires du culte superstitieux & de regle. Calmet, Dissert. sur l'Origine de l'Idolatrie, tom. i. pp. 431, 432. — Thus far this learned writer. And without doubt, his account of the early and overbearing progress of idolatry is exact.—Another writer, who would pass for such, is in different sentiments. He thinks its rise and progress much lower. *If we look* (says he) *amongst the Canaanites, we shall find no reason to imagine that there was a religion different from that of Abraham. Abraham travelled up and down many years in this country, and was respected by the inhabitants of it, as a person in great favour with God,* &c. And again, *Abraham was entertained by Pharaoh without the appearance of any indisposition towards him, or any the least sign of their having a different religion from that which Abraham himself professed and practised.* [Connect. of Sac. and Prof. Hist. vol. i. pp. 309 & 312.] But here the learned author was deceived by more modern ideas. He did not reflect on that general principle of *intercommunity*, so essential to paganism, which made all its followers disposed to receive the God of Abraham as a true, though tutelary, Deity. Josephus (the genius of whose times could not but give him a right notion of this matter) saw well the consistency between the veneration paid to Abraham's God, and the idolatry of the venerators; as appears from his making that Patriarch the first who propagated the belief of one God, after the whole race of mankind was sunk into idolatry; and at the same time making all those with whom he had to do, pay reverence to his God. Of Abraham he thus speaks, Διὰ τᾶτο καὶ φρονεῖν ἐπ' ἀρετῇ μείζω τῶν ἄλλων ἠρμένῳ, καὶ τὴν περὶ τὸ θεῖ δόξαν, ἣν ἅπασι συνέβαινεν εἶναι, καινίσαι καὶ μεταβαλεῖν ἔδνω. Πρῶτῳ ἔν τολμᾷ Θεὸν ἀποφήνασθαι δημιεργὸν τῶν ὅλων ἕνα. l. i. c. 7. He makes the idolatrous priests of Egypt tell Pharaoh at once, that the pestilence was sent from God in punishment for his intended violation of the stranger's wife: καλὰ μήνιν Θεᾶ

τὸ δεινὸν αὐτῷ παρεῖναι ἀπεσήμαινον οἱ ἱερεῖς, ἐφ' οἷς ἐθέλησεν ἐνυβρίσαι τᾷ ξένᾳ τὴν γυναῖκα. c. 8. And Abimelech, in the same circumstances, as ready to own the same author of his punishment. Φράζει πρὸς τὰς φίλας, ὡς ὁ Θεὸς αὐτῷ ταύτην ἐπαγάγοι τὴν νόσον ὑπὲρ ἐκδικίας τᾶ ξένᾳ φυλάσσων ἀνύβριστον αὐτῷ τὴν γυναῖκα. c. 12. Antiq.

P. 28. [C] These considerations will lead us to a right apprehension of that part of the history of Jesus, where James and John, on the inhospitable behaviour of a village of Samaria, say to their Master, in the Legal spirit of the Jewish economy, *Lord, wilt thou that we command fire to come down from heaven and consume them, even as Elias did? But he turned, and rebuked them, and said, Ye know not what manner of spirit ye are of. For the Son of man is not come to destroy men's lives, but to save them.* [Luke ix. 54, 55, 56.] *i.e.* You consider not that you are no longer under the Dispensation of Works (in which a severity of this kind was just and necessary), but, of Grace, in which all restraint and punishment of opinions would be mischievous and unlawful. Here we see the very disposition to intolerance in James and John is severely censured. Yet the same temper in Paul, even when proceeding into act, is passed over without reproof, when Jesus, after his resurrection, is pleased to reveal his truth to him in a miraculous manner. Our Lord, instead of condemning the nature of the practice, only assures him of the vanity of its effects, *It is hard for thee to kick against the pricks.* [Acts ix. 5.] The reason of this different treatment is evident. James and John had given their names to the Religion of Jesus, in which all force was unjust. Paul was yet of the Religion of Moses, where restraint was lawful. On this account it is that this Apostle, when speaking of his merits as a Jew, expresses himself in this manner, *For ye have heard of my conversation in time past; how that beyond measure I* PERSECUTED *the church of God, and wasted it:*

and

and PROFITED *in the Jew religion above many my equals in mine own nation.* [Gal. i. 13.] Here he makes the *persecution* and the *profiting* to go hand in hand. And again, *Though I might also have confidence in the flesh. If any other man thinketh that he hath whereof he might trust in the flesh, I more: Circumcised the eighth day, of the stock of Israel, of the tribe of Benjamin, an Hebrew of the Hebrews; as touching the Law, a Pharisee; concerning zeal,* PERSECUTING THE CHURCH; *touching the righteousness which is in the law, blameless. But what things were gain to me, those I counted loss for Christ.* [Phil. iii. 4.] Here he glories in the action, as plainly meritorious. And so indeed it was in a Jew, as appears from the commendations given to it in the case of Phineas, and others. Yet where he speaks of it, under his present character of a Christian, he condemns it as horrid and detestable; and this, in order to shew his followers how it ought to be regarded in the Religion of Jesus. To the Corinthians he says, *I am the least of the Apostles; that am not meet to be called an Apostle, because I* PERSECUTED *the church of God,* [1 Ep. xv. 9.] And to *Timothy, I thank Christ Jesus our Lord, who hath enabled me, for that he counted me faithful, putting me into the ministry; who was before a blasphemer, and a* PERSECUTOR, *and injurious. But I obtained mercy, because I did it in* IGNORANCE *and* UNBELIEF, [1 Ep. i. 12.] *i. e.* being a Jew.

P. 34. [D] Dr. Stebbing, though he differs from Mr. Foster in most other matters, yet agrees with him in this, "That the justice and equity of the Jewish "Law in punishing Idolaters with death, did not de- "pend on the particular form of government." [*Hist. of Abraham.*] In which he is much more consistent than his dissenting neighbour. For the Doctor approves of persecution for opinions; whereas the minister pretends to condemn it.

P. 37.

P. 37. [E] It is strange to consider how much Dr. *Spencer* has mistaken this matter, where, in his reasons of a Theocracy *ex parte seculi*, as he calls them, he gives the following: "Seculi moribus ita factum erat, "ut Dii sui principatum quendam inter servos suos "obtinerent, et nomine rituque regio colerentur. "Nam seculo illo Deos titulis illis *Molech*, *Elohim*, "*Baalim*, et hujusmodi aliis, regibus et magnatibus "tribui solitis, insignire solebant: eos imperii arbitros "plerumque ponebant, cum nec bella gerere, nec "civitatem condere, nec regem eligere, nec grandius "aliquid moliri solerent, priusquam Deos per oracula "vel auspicia consuluissent." Dissert. de Theoc. Jud. c. iii. p. 237. Ed. Chap. But these are no marks that the Pagans attributed any kind of civil regality to their Gods. As to their regal titles, those were what they had retained from the time of their real kingship in the state of humanity. And as to the consulting their oracles on all public affairs of moment, this was the consequence of Pagan religion's having *a public as well as private part*. But, for an acknowledged God to be chosen and received by any people as their real Monarch or Civil Magistrate, was a thing altogether unknown to Paganism.—The learned Marsham, with his usual bias, endeavours to insinuate, that the institution of a *Theocracy* was an imitation of Pagan Custom: Moses pridem Θεοκρατίαν declaravit Ebræorum Rempublicam; ne sibi potestas regia deferretur: Athenienses autem Διοκρατίαν suam ab Apolline retulerunt; ut *regis* nomen *Jovi* cederet; neque tam titulus quam potestas regia imminueretur. Sec. xiii. p. 340.—But the question here is not about the *name*, but the *thing*. The Pagans might call their national Gods by the name of Kings, and, by a bolder figure, might call their Government, put under the protection of a tutelary Deity, by the name of a *Theocracy*; but a real Theocracy is that only where the Laws of the Institution have all a reference to the actual rule of a tutelary God, whether the true God or false ones; and such

such a Theocracy is no where to be found but in the land of Judea.

P. 64. [F] For this was the only use the Pagans ever thought of making of the Gods of their enemies when they had stolen them, or taken them away by force. Apion had mentioned one Zabidus an Idumean, who, when the Jews were warring against his countrymen, made a bargain with the enemy to deliver Apollo, one of their tutelary Gods, into their hands; and Josephus, when he comes to confute this idle tale, takes it for granted that the only supposed cause of such pretended traffic was to gain a new tutelary Deity; and on this founds his argument against Apion: *How then*, says he, *can Apion persist in accusing us of not having Gods in common with others, when our forefathers were so easily persuaded to believe that Apollo was coming into their service?* Τί δ' ἡμῶν ἔτι καλήσορεῖ τὸ μὴ κοινὰς ἔχειν τοῖς ἄλλοις θεὰς, εἰ ῥᾳδίως ἅτως ἐπείσθησαν οἱ πατέρες ἡμῶν, ἥξειν τὸν Ἀπόλλωνα πρὸς αὐτάς. vol. ii. p. 478.

P. 86. [G] I call them licentious, principally, for the extravagant Reasonings concerning the authority of the Pentateuch, and the divine inspiration of Scripture. The first he retracted and confuted, when the spirit of contradiction had given way to better principles; the other (which he had inserted into the *Letters* as the work of another man) he never, that I know of, atoned for, by any retraction whatsoever.

P. 95. [H] Dr. Sykes has undertaken to confute the censure here passed upon Dr. Spencer. *Here it is* (says this Answerer) *that Mr. W. attacks Dr. Spencer's dissertation on the Jewish Theocracy. Are we not now from hence to* IMAGINE *that Dr. Spencer was one of those writers that supposed the Theocracy to have ended with the Judges?* [An examination of Mr. W's account, &c. p. 168.] What demands of *imagination* his

his trade of Answering may have upon him, I do not know. But from my words, a fair reasoner would *imagine* nothing but that I meant to prove what I said: namely, that Dr. Spencer's discourse of the Theocracy is *weak and inconsistent.*

His first charge (says he) *against Spencer is, that he thought the Theocracy was established by degrees, and abrogated by degrees.* "A conceit highly absurd," *says Mr. W. But wherein lies the absurdity of this gradual progress and gradual declension?* [p. 170.] The *Absurdity* lies here. When God is pleased to assume the character of civil Magistrate, he must, like all other Magistrates, enter upon his office at once, and (as common sense requires) abdicate it at once. Now the Government under such a Magistrate is what we properly call a Theocracy. Therefore to talk of *the gradual progress* and *gradual declension* of this mode of civil relation, is the same as to talk of the gradual progress and gradual declension of Paternity, or any other mode of natural relation; of which, I suppose, till now, nobody ever heard.

He goes on—*if there be any absurdity or inconsistency in this manner of speaking, it may be* JUSTIFIED *by Mr. W's own authority.* That is, my absurdity will justify another Man's. But this is doing me an honour which I do not pretend to. Well, but how do I *justify* Dr. Spencer? Why, I say, it seems, "That in the period immediately preceding the Jewish "Captivity, on the gradual withdrawing the extraor-"dinary Providence from them, they began to entertain "doubts concerning God's further peculiar regard to "them as his chosen People." *So that here* (says Dr. Sykes) *he expressly owns a* GRADUAL WITHDRAWING OF THE EXTRAORDINARY PROVIDENCE from the Jews. *And where is the absurdity of Dr. Spencer's* GRADUAL DECLENSION OR IMMINUTION OF THE THEOCRACY, *which Mr. W's gradual withdrawing of the extraordinary Providence is not liable*

liable unto? Or was not the gradual withdrawing of the extraordinay Providence a proper imminution of the Theocracy? [p. 171.] He is so pleased with this argument that he repeats it at p. 218. Yet who would have suspected him of what he here discovers, a total ignorance of any difference between the FORM of Government and the ADMINISTRATION of it? Now Dr. Spencer talked of the gradual decline of the *form of Government*, which I thought absurd: I spoke of the gradual decline of the *administration* of it; which, whether it be equally absurd, let those determine who have seen (unless perhaps the rarity of the fact has made it escape observation) an *administration* of Government grow worse and worse, while the *form* of it still continued the same.

So much as to Spencer's *absurdity*. We come next to his *inconsistency*, in supposing some foot-steps of the Theocracy till the time of Christ, and yet that it was entirely abrogated by the establishment of the Kings. Of this inconsistency, Dr. Spencer is absolved, by the dexterity of our Answerer, in the following manner: *Here again is Dr. Spencer much misrepresented, from not considering* WHAT HE MEANT *by the* ABROGATION *of God's Government. Not that the Theocracy entirely ceased; but the Government received an* ALTERATION *and* ABATEMENT. *And therefore he uses more than once the phrase of* REGIMINIS MUTATI, *in this very section; Where is the absurdity and inconsistency of this way of reasoning, unless abrogation is made to signify a total abolition, and duration is to be construed cessation?*

He asks, *where is the absurdity of this way of reasoning?* I did not accuse Spencer of *absurdity in his way of reasoning*, but of *contradiction in his way of expression*. I see no *reasoning* there is, or can be, in a man's delivering what he thinks a fact: such as his opinion of the duration of a form of Government. But he who cannot distinguish *reasoning* from *expression*,

expression, may be well excused for confounding the *form of Government*, and the *administration of Government* with one another.

However, *Spencer* (he says) *is much misrepresented*; *he did not mean by* ABROGATION *a* CEASING; *but an* ALTERATION *and* ABATEMENT. It seems then, a writer is *much misrepresented* if, when he is charged with an inconsistent *expression*, his *meaning* may be proved consistent. A good commodious principle for the whole class of Answerers! But he tells us that *abrogation* [reginen abrogatum] does not signify *ceasing*. Where did he get his Latin? for the Roman writers use it only in the sense of dissolution, abolition, or the *entire ceasing* of an office or command. What then does it signify? ALTERATION (he says) *and* ABATEMENT. But now where did he get his English? Our Country writers, I think, use the word *alteration* to signify a change; and *abatement*, to signify no change; no alteration in the qualities of things, but a diminution only in the vigour of their operations. What the *alteration* of a Theocracy, or any other form of Government is, we well understand; but what the *abatement* of it is, one is much at a loss to conceive. However, this I know, that Dr. Sykes here confirms what I charge upon him, the confounding the mode of Government with the administration of it: *Alteration* being applicable to the former, and *abatement*, only to the latter.

But his inference from this special reasoning, is worth all the rest—*and* THEREFORE *Spencer uses, more than once, the phrase of* regininis MUTATI, *in this very section. Therefore!* Wherefore? Why, because by *abrogati* he meant only *abated*, therefore he *uses* mutati, *more than once* to explain himself. That is to say, "because, by *totum*, I mean *pars*, THEREFORE I use *omne* more than once, to explain my meaning." Well, if he did not clear it up before, he has done it now.

—*And where* (says he) *is the absurdity or inconsistency of this way of reasoning?* Nay, for that matter,

matter, the *reasoning* is full as good as the Criticism. But here he should have stopped; for so fatal is his expression, where the fit of Answering is upon him, that he cannot ask quarter for one blunder without commiting another—*Unless* ABROGATION *is made to signify a* TOTAL ABOLITION, *and* duration *is construed to be* cessation.—"I can find (says he) no absurdity nor inconsistency in Dr. Spencer, without perverting the common signification of words:"—*without calling duration cessation.*—This is his Argument; and so far was well. But he goes on—*and abrogation a total abolition.* Here he sinks again; for *abrogation* was *abolition*, amongst all nations and languages, till Dr. Sykes first pleaded in *abatement*. Well, but our Answerer will go farther: and having so ably vindicated Dr. Spencer, he will now shew, though the Doctor be *consistent*, yet so am not I: for that I hold, the extraordinary Providence entirely ceased on the return from the Captivity: From whence (says this subtle logician) I argue thus, "If the EXTRAORDINARY "PROVIDENCE entirely ceased *on the full Settlement* "*of the Jews after their Return*, it ceased some "centuries at least before the days of Christ; and "CONSEQUENTLY the THEOCRACY must have ceased "some centuries before the days of Christ. How "then is Mr. W. consistent about the duration of the "Theocracy, since he pleads for its continuance till "Christ's time, and yet maintains that IT entirely "ceased so long before his time*?"

The argument, we see, gathers even as it rolls from his mouth. In the beginning of the sentence, The *ceasing of an extraordinary Providence* only implied in consequence, the *ceasing of the Theocracy*; but, before we get to the end, an *extraordinary Providence* and a *Theocracy* are one and the same thing. "*Mr. W. pleads for its* [a Theocracy's] *continuance till Christ's time, and yet maintains that* IT *entirely ceased so long before his time.*" Thus again to the same purpose

* Examination of Mr. *W*'s Account, &c. pp. 173, 174.

at

at p. 178: "Or by what rule does he form a judg-
"ment that WHAT was gradually decaying to the
"Captivity, was entirely to cease after their Return
"and full Settlement; and yet WAS to continue till
"Christ's time?"—Nay, if he begins to talk of *Rules*, let me ask him *by what Rule* he found out, "that a *Monarchy* and an exact *Administration of Justice* are one and the same thing?" The truth is, our Examiner was thus grievously misled by the ambiguity of the *English* word THE GOVERNMENT; which signifies either the MODE of Civil Policy, or the ADMINISTRATION of it. But was this to be expected of a man who had been all his life-time writing ABOUT GOVERNMENT?

To conclude this long note, The charge against SPENCER was of *absurdity* and *contradiction* in one single instance amidst a thousand excellencies. Dr. Sykes assumes the honour of his Defence. But with what judgment, he soon gives us to understand, when he could find no other part of that immortal Book to do himself the credit of supporting, but the *discourse concerning the Theocracy*; much in the spirit of that ancient Advocate of Cicero, who, while the Patriot's character was torn in pieces by his Enemies, would needs vindicate him from the imputation of a Wart upon his Nose, against his Friends.

P. 128. [I] It was one of the principal Accusations which *Apion*, at that time, brought against the *Jews*, that they would not have Gods in common with other Nations; as we learn from *Josephus*'s tract against him, τί δ' ἡμῶν ἔτι κατηγορεῖ τὸ μὴ κοινοὺς ἔχειν τοῖς ἄλλοις θεοὺς. Vol. ii. pp. 477, 478. And *Celsus* calls that famous maxim, *A man cannot serve two Masters* (on which he supposed *Christians* founded the same principle) THE VOICE OF SEDITION when men are for breaking off all society and commerce with the rest of mankind. Εἶθ' ἑξῆς ἐκείνοις ἡμᾶς εἰσάγει λέγοντας πρὸς τὴν ἐπαπόρησιν αὐτοῦ, θέλοντος ἡμᾶς

 καὶ τοὺς

ϰὴ τὲς Δαίμονας Θεραπεύειν ὅτι οὐκ οἶόνλε ἀκλεύειν τὸν αὐτὸν πλείοσι κυρίοις. Τᾶτο δ', ὡς οἴεἷαι ΣΤΑΣΕΩΣ εἶναι ΦΩΝΗΝ, τῶν (ὡς αὐτὸς ὠνόμασεν) ἀποτειχιζόνἷων ἑαυἷὲς καὶ ἀπορρήγνύντων ἀπὸ τῶν λοιπῶν ἀνθρώπων. *Orig. cont. Cels.* p. 380.

P. 129. [K] In his Tract against *Apion* he has these remarkable words: *It is becoming Men of prudence and moderation carefully to observe their own Country Laws concerning Religious matters, and to avoid calumniating the customs of others. But this Man* [Apion] *abandoned his own Religion, and has since employed himself in inventing lies of ours.* Δεῖ γὰρ τὲς εὐφρονἕνλας τοῖς μὲν οἰκείοις νόμοις περὶ τὴν εὐσέβειαν ἀκριβῶς ἐμμένειν, τὲς δὲ τῶν ἄλλων μὴ λοιδορεῖν· ὁ δὲ τάτες μὲν ἔφυγε, τῶν ἡμἑτέρων δὲ καἷεψεύσαἷο. Vol. ii. p. 480. This was carrying his complaisance to the Gentiles extremely far. But the necessity was pressing; and he misses no opportunity of conciliating their goodwill. Thus in his *Antiquities*, a work, as we observed, entirely apologetical, he tells the Reader, l. iii. c. 6. that the seven branches of the golden Candlestick signified the *seven Planets*. But in his *Wars of the Jews*, l. vii. c. 5. § 5. he assures us they signify the Reverence in which the *Jews* held the *Number Seven*. But, Allegory for Allegory, he thought, I suppose, one as good as the other, and therefore might be allowed to use what best served his occasions.

P. 129. [L] The Jews succeeded in their endeavours to distinguish Their case from the Christians. So that while the storm fell upon the latter, the other enjoyed a calm. As we may fully understand by that passage in St. Paul to the Galatians; *As many as desire to make a fair shew in the flesh, they constrain you to be circumcised, only lest they should suffer persecution for the cross of Christ.* c.vi. ver.12. On which Limborch observes very justly,—Qui non zelo pietatis, aut pro lege Mosis, moti id urgebant; sed tantum ut placerent

placerent Judæis; quia nempe videbant persecutiones quotidie magis magisque Christianis a Gentibus inferri, *Judæos autem ab illis esse immunes*, hac ratione eas, tanquam ipsi essent Judæi, studuerunt declinare. *Amic. Collatio*, p. 164.

P. 130. [M] "There is, amongst many other "things that *Josephus*'s copy appears to want, one "omission of so important a nature—the heinous "Sin of the golden Calf.—What makes it stranger is "this, that *Josephus*'s account is not only negative, "by a bare omission, but positive, by affording an "exact coherence without it, *nay such a coherence as* "*is plainly inconsistent with it.* And what still "makes it more surprising is, that *Josephus* frequently "professes, neither to add to nor to take away from "the sacred Books." *Dissert.* II. p. xlv. Some other Liberties, which *Josephus* took with Scripture for the end above explained, made this learned Writer conclude that the Historian had an *earlier and more uncorrupt copy of the Old Testament than any we now have: for that his accounts are more exact, consistent, and agreeable with Chronology, with natural Religion, and with one another.* p. xxxv. Yet, after all, the fatal omission of the golden Calf brings him to confess, *that* Josephus's *copy appears to* WANT *many things* which are in ours. p. xlv. Thus sorely distressed is this good man in the support of a wild extravagant hypothesis; while every one else sees that all the omissions and alterations (which sometimes make his copy *good*, sometimes *bad*) were designed deviations from the sacred Volumes to conciliate the good-will of his masters.

P. 135. [N] Here Dr. Sykes appears again upon the stage. "The Scripture representation of the "Theocracy, as Mr. Warburton (says he) assures us, "was, 1. *Over the State in general:* and 2. *Over* "*private Men in particular.* I have no doubts about

" the former of these cases: For where a law was " given by God, and he condescended to become " King of a Nation, and a solemn Covenant was en- " tered into by the People and by God, as their King, " and where blessings were solemnly promised upon " obedience to the Law, or curses were denounced " upon disobedience: and this by one who was able " to execute whatever he engaged; no doubt can be " about the reciprocal obligations, or about God's " performing his part of the obligation, since it is his " property not to lie nor deceive. Temporal Re- " wards and Punishments being then the sanction of " the Jewish Law, these must be dispensed by God " so as to make the State happy and flourishing if " they keep the Law, or else miserable if they dis- " obeyed it. The Blessings and Curses were general " and national, agreeable to the character of a King, " and a legal Administration: such as related to them " as a People; and not to particular persons." [Exam. of Mr.W.'s Account, &c. pp. 186, 187.]

Here, he assures us, *he has no doubts about the extraordinary Providence over the State in general.* And he tells us his reason,—Because *the Law was given by God, and he condescended to become the* KING *of the Nation, by a solemn Covenant made with the People.* Now if this very reason be found to hold equally strong for an extraordinary Providence over PARTICULARS, the point will be soon decided between us. Let me ask him, then, what those reasons are whereby he infers that, from *God's becoming King of a Nation*, he must administer an extraordinary Providence over the *State in general*, which do not equally conclude for God's administering it over *Particulars?* Is not his inference founded upon this, That where God condescends to assume a *civil* character, he condescends to administer it in a *civil* manner? which is done by extending his care over the whole. If our Doctor should say, his inference is not thus founded; I must then beg leave to tell

him, that he has no foundation at all to conclude from God's being *King*, that there was an extraordinary Providence exerted over the *State in general*. If he confesses that it is thus founded; then I infer, upon the same grounds, an extraordinary Providence over *Particulars*. For the justice of the Regal office is equally pledged to extend its care to *Particulars* as well as to the *general*. It may be asked then, what hindered our Doctor from seeing so self-evident a truth? I reply, the mistake with which he first set out; and which yet sticks to him. I have observed before, what confusion he ran into by not being able to distinguish between the *Form of Government* and the *Administration of it*. Here again he makes the same blind work, from not seeing the differenec between a LEGISLATOR and a KING.—*For where a* LAW (says he) *was given by God, and he condescended to become the* KING *of a Nation*, &c. implying that in his opinion, the *giving a Law*, and the *becoming a King*, was one and the same thing. Hence it was, that as the Legislative power, in the institution of good Laws, extends its providence only over the State in general, he concluded, that the executive power, in the administration of those Laws, does no more. Which brings him to a conclusion altogether worthy both of himself and his premises.—*The Blessings and Curses* (says he) *were general and national, agreeable to the character of a King and a legal Administration.*— What! Is it only agreeable to the character of a King and a legal Administration to take care of the *State in general*, and not of *Particulars?* So, according to this new system of Policy, it is agreeable to the Constitution of *England* to fit out fleets, to protect the public from insults, and to enact Laws to encourage commerce; but not to ereet Courts of Equity, or to send about itinerant Judges. What makes his ignorance in this matter the more inexcusable is, that I had pointed out to him this distinction, in the following passage; the former part of which

he has quoted, but dropt the latter, as if determined that neither himself nor his reader should be the better for it. My words are these: *It* [the extraordinary Providence] *is represented as administered, 1. Over the State in general. 2. Over private men in particular. And such a representation we should expect to find from the nature of the Republic*; BECAUSE AS AN EXTRAORDINARY PROVIDENCE OVER THE STATE NECESSARILY FOLLOWS GOD'S BEING THEIR TUTELARY DEITY [in which capacity he gave them Laws], SO AN EXTRAORDINARY PROVIDENCE TO PARTICULARS FOLLOWS AS NECESSARILY FROM HIS BEING THEIR SUPREME MAGISTRATE [in which capacity he administered them].

P. 136. [O] To this it has been objected, "That "Solomon here prays for scarce so much in behalf of "his own People, as he doth, ver. 32, for every "*stranger* that shall come and worship in the Tem- "ple." But the Objector should have observed that there is this difference,—the prayer for the Israelites was founded on a Covenant; the prayer for the Stranger, on no Covenant. That for the Israelites begins thus, *O Lord God of Israel, there is no God like thee, which* KEEPETH COVENANT—and as he proceeds, the reason of his petition all along goes upon their being possessors of the *promised Land*, the great object of the Covenant, ver. 25-27-31. But the prayer for the *Stranger*, ver. 32, is founded altogether on another principle, namely, for the sake of God's glory amongst the heathen. *Moreover concerning the Stranger* [words implying a new consideration] *if they come and pray in this house, then hear from the Heavens*—THAT ALL PEOPLE OF THE EARTH MAY KNOW THY NAME AND FEAR THEE.

P. 136. [P] But the whole book of Psalms is one continued declaration of the administration of an extraordinary Providence to particulars, in the exact distribution

distribution of rewards and punishments. See the *Argument of the Divine Legation fairly stated*, pp. 57 to 75, where the learned Writer has evinced the truth in question beyond the possibility of a reply.

P. 137. [Q] To this testimony from Ezekiel, Dr. Sykes objects, that "It is but a parabolical command: "and no argument can be drawn from parables for "an equal Providence over particulars, but at most "for a particular and peculiar Dispensation." *Defence*, p. 61. This is the pleasantest of Answerers.—If this *parabolical command* does not mean what itself says it does mean, namely, "that virtuous individuals "should be distinguished from the wicked, in a general "calamity;" what then does it mean? Why, *at most, but a particular and peculiar Dispensation*. And in what, I pray you, does a *particular and peculiar Dispensation* consist, if not in a distinction between the virtuous and the wicked, in a general calamity? But he had some confused notion that there was a difference between a parabolical and a real representation: and therefore he makes it to consist in this, that *no argument can be drawn from* the former.—Now, if from Jesus's parable of the rebellious Husbandmen (who wounded their Lord's Servants and killed the Heir, and for their pains were ejected from their possessions, and the vineyard let to other Husbandmen) I should conclude, "that he meant the Jews, who had murdered the Prophets which were sent unto them, and were ready to murder the Messiah likewise, and that for this crime they should be deprived of the blessing of the Gospel, and the Gentiles received into the Kingdom of Christ, in their stead, I make no doubt but, if it served our Doctor's purpose of *answering*, he would reply, *It is but a parabolical tale, and no argument can be drawn from parables, of Christ's sufferings and the rejection of the Jews, &c. but, at most, that the Jews were rebels and murderers, and would be treated as such.*"

Another Answerer is yet more shameless. "As to "the parabolical command in Ezekiel (says Dr. "Rutherforth) the very same premises were exactly "fulfilled to the Christians. *Rev.* vii. 1, 2, 3." If you ask *when*, *where*, and *how*, you would embarrass, but not disconcert him. Yet, as he assures us, these promises were exactly fulfilled to Christians, he must give us leave to assure him, that it could be only in a *spiritual* sense: for St. Paul tells us, that the Jews had the *promise of the life that now is*, and the Christians of *that which is to come*. I doubt then the learned Professor was a little disoriented when he called the *promises* in Ezekiel and in the Revelations, *the same*. There is a strange perversity in these men. The promises under the *Law*, they tell us, are to be understood SPIRITUALLY, and this, in order that they may bring Judaism to Christianity: But then, to bring Christianity back to Judaism, they tell us on the other hand, that the promises under the *Gospel* are to be understood CARNALLY. But what is to be expected, or rather what is not to be expected, from a man who dares to assert, that there was no more an extraordinary Providence under the Jewish than under the Christian Dispensation; in open defiance of the Prophets and the Apostles, of Moses and of Jesus Christ.

P. 138. [R] Yet Dr. Sykes scruples not to say, "The passage from Amos does not prove an *equal* or "*unequal* Providence, but a peculiar interposition "OCCASIONALLY administered." Def. p. 61. As I would be willing that every thing of this learned Answerer's should be put to use, I would recommend this observation to the reader as a paraphrase on the words of the Apostle, where he says that, under the Mosaic Dispensation, "the word spoken by "Angels was STEDFAST, and EVERY transgression "and disobedience received a just recompense of "reward." Heb. ii. 2.

P. 139.

P. 139. [S] To this Dr. Sykes replies, "The equal "providence over the Jews by his own confession had "ceased some hundred of years, and therefore at the "writing of this epistle, *Tribulation* was deemed by "nobody more an opprobrium of the Jews, or a pu-"nishment of their crimes, than it was of other "people." Defence, p. 62. This great Divine did not perceive that St. Paul is here speaking of the different *genius* of the two Religions, Judaism and Christianity, not of the *condition* of the two People at the time he wrote: and consequently, as what was once true would be always true, the Apostle considers the *nature* of the two Dispensations as invariable.

P. 143. [T] The writer of the *first book of Maccabees* appears to have lived in the times he wrote of; and we find no wonders nor prodigies in his History. But a long time after comes the Author of the *second Book*, an Epitomizer of one *Jason* of *Syrene*; and he largely supplies what he thought the other wanted. This Man is such a lover of prodigies, that, when he has made a monstrous lie, and so frighted himself at the size of it that he dare not tell it out, he insinuates it [as chap. xii. ver. 22.—ἐκ τῆς τῶ παύλα ἐφορῶν ἐπιφανείας. Chap. xv. ver. 27. τῇ τῦ Θεῦ ἐπιφανείᾳ.] Nay he even ventures at an apology for *lying Wonders*, [Chap. xv. ver. 11.] and under this encouragement falls a lying to some purpose, [Chap. xii. ver. 16.]

P. 147. [U] I will only observe at present, what the least reflection on this matter so naturally suggests, that this *complaint of inequality* never could have come from *good men*, as it did even from *Jeremiah* himself, who thus expostulates with the Almighty: *Righteous art thou, O Lord, when I plead with thee: yet let me talk with thee of thy judgments: Wherefore doth the way of the Wicked prosper? Wherefore are all they happy that deal very treacherously?* [Chap. xii. ver. 1.]

It

It never, I say, could have come from such men, had they been *at all acquainted* with the Doctrine *of a future state of rewards and punishments*; or had they not been *long accustomed* to an *extraordinary Providence*.

P. 148. [X] Mr. Chubb, in some or other of his Tracts, has, as I remember, made an unusual effort; an effort to be witty. He observes, that the Author of the *Divine Legation* has done the Unbeliever's business for him; "by proving that an equal Providence was *promised*; while the Bible shews that it was not *performed*." But he might have known, that the Author did not furnish Infidelity with this foolish objection; it lay open to them. And he might have seen, that the folly of it was here effectually exposed. However, Mr. Chubb was a very extraordinary personage; and might have said with the reasoning Rustic in Moliere,—Oui, si j'avois étudié j'aurois eté songer à des choses ou l'on n'a jamais songé. As it was, he did wonders. He began with defending the reasonableness of Christianity, and carried on his work so successfully, that, before he gave over, he had reasoned himself out of Religion.

P. 158. [Y] The Atheist *Vanini*, indeed, seems to rank Moses in the number of those Politicians, who, he says, promised a *future state* that the cheat might never be found out.—In unica naturæ lege, quam *natura*, quæ Deus est (*est enim principium motus*) in omnium gentium animis inscripsit. Cæteras vero leges non nisi figmenta & illusiones esse asserebant, non a cacodæmone aliquo inductas, *fabulosum namque illorum genus dicitur a philosophis*, sed a *principibus ad subditorum pædagogiam excogitatas*, & a sacrificulis ob honoris & auri aucupium confirmatas, non miraculis, *sed scriptura, cujus nec originale ullibi adinvenitur, quæ miracula facta recitet*, & bonarum ac malarum actionum repromissiones polliceatur, *in futura tamen vita*,

vita, ne fraus detegi possit.—*De admirandis naturæ arcanis.*

P. 162. [Z] The miserable efforts of these men to evade the force of a little plain sense is deplorable. "Moses (says one of them) could not omit the men-"tion of the *Devil* for the reason given by the author "of the D. L. because he mentions him expressly; "and represents him as the patron, if not as the "author, of idolatry. Deut. xxxii. ver. 17." Rutherforth's Essay, p. 204.—The words of Moses are these,—*They sacrificed to* DEVILS, *not to God; to Gods whom they knew not, to new Gods that came newly up, whom your fathers feared not.* The Hebrew word here translated *Devils*, is *Schedim*, which, the best interpreters tell us, has another signification. The true God being *Schaddei*, the *omnipotent and all-sufficient*; the Gentile Gods, by a beautiful opposition, are called *Schedim, counterfeit Gods.* And the context, where they are called *new Gods*, shews this interpretation to be the true. But admit that, by Schedim is to be understood *evil spirits:* by these spirits are not meant fallen Angels, but the souls of wicked men. These were the *Demons* of Paganism; but the *Devils* discovered by Revelation have a different nature and original: Accordingly the Septuagint, which took *Schedim* in the sense of the souls of wicked men, translates it by δαιμόνια.

P. 164. [AA] Dr. Sykes in disputing with me, as we have seen above, on this question, *Whether the extraordinary Providence was only over the State in general, or whether it extended to Particulars*, having sufficiently puzzled himself and his reader; To recover the ground he had lost, on a sudden changes the question, and now tells us that it is, "*Whether an* "*extraordinary Providence was administered to* "*Particulars* IN SUCH A MANNER *that no trans-*"*gressor of the Law escaped punishment, nor any* "*observer*

" *observer of the Law missed his reward*;"—" which " Mr. Warburton represents (says he) to be the state " of the Jews under an equal Providence." [Exam. pp. 187, 8.] Now what his drift was in this piece of management, is easily understood. It was to introduce a commodious Fallacy under an ambiguous expression; which would be always at hand to answer his occasions. And indeed, the cautious reader (and I would advise no other to have to do with him) will suspect no less, when he observes that the words, [*no Transgressor escaped Punishment, nor any Observer of the Law missed his Reward*] quoted from me, are not to be found in that place where I state the nature of the extraordinary Providence; but here, where I speak of the consequences of it, in the words above—*We have shewn at large*, &c. What now has this ANSWERER done? He has taken the words [*no Transgressor escaping Punishment, nor any Observer of the Law missing his Reward*] from their natural place; misrepresented their purpose; and given them to the reader as my DEFINITION of an extraordinary Providence to Particulars. And not content with all this, he has put a false and sophistical sense upon them, *viz.* THAT NO ONE SINGLE PERSON, WITHOUT EXCEPTION, ever escaped Punishment, or missed his Reward. And in this sense, by the vilest prevarication, he repeats and applies them, on every following occasion, as the sole answer to all my reasonings on the subject of an extraordinary Providence. It will be proper then to shew, that the words could not mean, by any rules of just construction, that every *single person, without exception*, was thus punished and rewarded; but only that this extraordinary Providence over Particulars was so exactly administered, that no one could hope to escape it, or fear to be forgotten by it.

First then, let it be observed, that the words are no absolute assertion; but a consequence of something asserted.—AND THEN *no Transgressor escaping*, etc. which

which illative words the honest Examiner omitted.—What I had asserted was simply this, that the extraordinary Providence over the Jews was in Scripture represented as administered over Particulars; but that this very administration would of necessity be attended with some inequalities. Must not then the consequence I draw from these premises be as restrained as the premises themselves? Secondly, I said, that God had promised an equal Providence to Particulars, but that he had declared, at the same time, how it should be administered, *viz.* in such a manner as would occasion some few exceptions. If therefore Dr. Sykes would not allow me, he ought to have allowed God Almighty at least, to explain his own meaning. Thirdly, had the words been absolute, as they then might have admitted of two senses, did not common ingenuity require, that I should be understood in that which was easiest to prove, when either was alike to my purpose? But there was still more than this to lead an ingenuous man into my meaning; which was, that he might observe, that I used, throughout my whole discourse of the Jewish Economy, the words *extraordinary Providence* and *equal Providence*, as equivalent terms. By which he might understand that I all along admitted of exceptions. Fourthly, If such rare cases of exception destroyed an equal Providence to *Particulars*, (which Providence I hold) it would destroy, with it, the equal Providence to the *State*, (which Dr. Sykes pretends to hold). But if not for the sake of truth in opinion, yet for fair-dealing in practice, Dr. Sykes should have interpreted my words not absolutely, but with exceptions. For thus stood the case. He quoted two positions from the *Divine Legation*. 1. That there was an extraordinary Providence over the State in general. 2. Over private men in particular. He grants the first; and denies the second. But is not the extent of that providence understood to be in both cases the same? Now in that over the *State*, he understands

derstands it to have been with exceptions, as appears from his own mention of the case of Achan, p. 190; and of David, p. 197. Ought he not, then, by all the rules of honest reasoning, to have understood the Proposition denied, in the same sense he understands the Proposition granted? If in the administration over the State in general, there were some few exceptions, why not in That over private men in particular?

But if now the candid reader shall ask me, Why I employed expressions, which, when divorced from the context, might be abused by a Caviller to a perverse meaning, I will tell him. I used them in imitation of the language of the Apostle, who says that, under the Jewish Economy, EVERY *transgression and disobedience received a just recompence of reward**. And if He be to be understood with latitude, why may not I?

P. 165. [BB] But as GOD acted with them in the capacity of the Creator and Father of all Men, as well as of tutelary God and King, he was pleased, at the same time, to provide that they should never lose the memory of the attributes of the Almighty: and therefore adds,—*And shewing mercy unto thousands of them that love me, and keep my commandments.* Numb. xiv. 18. Deut. v. 10.

P. 165. [CC] " The Author of the D. L. (says " Dr. Sykes) goes on, and observes that this punish- " ment [of visiting the iniquities of Fathers upon " their Children] *was only to supply the want of a " future state.* But how will this *extraordinary eco- " nomy* SUPPLY this want? The Children at present " suffer for their Parents' crimes; and are supposed " to be punished when they have no guilt. Is not " this a plain act of HARDSHIP? And if there be " no future state or compensation made, the hardship " done must continue for ever a hardship on the

* Heb. ii. 2.

" unhappy

" unhappy sufferer." [Exam. of Mr. W.'s Account, pp. 202, 3.] For a Reasoner, it would be hard to find his fellow. 1. The question is, whether this Law of punishing, was a SUPPLY to the want of a future state? If it laid hold of the passions, as he owns it did, it certainly was a SUPPLY. However, he will prove it was none. And how? Because it was a HARDSHIP. 2. He supposes, I hold, that when Children were *punished*, in the proper sense of the word, they were innocent; whereas I hold, that then they were always guilty. When the innocent were affected by their Parents' crimes, it was by the deprivation of benefits, in their nature forfeitable. 3. He supposes, that if Moses taught no future state, IT WOULD FOLLOW, that there was none.

P. 165. [DD] To this it hath been objected—" As " to the proof, that visiting the iniquities of Parents " on their Children was designed to supply the want " of a future state, because in a *new Dispensation*, " it is foretold, that this mode of punishing will be " changed; this argument will not be admitted by the " Deists, who do not allow that a *new Dispensation* " is revealed under the phrase of a *new Covenant*." Here the Objector should have distinguished.—The Deists make two different attacks on Revelation. In the one, They dispute that order, connexion, and dependency between the two Dispensations, as they are delivered in Scripture, and maintained by Believers: In the other, they admit (for argument's sake) this representation of revealed Religion; and pretend to shew its falsehood, even upon that footing. Amongst their various arguments in this last method of attack, one is, that the Jewish Religion had no sanction *of a future state*, and so could not come from God. [See Lord Bolingbroke's Posthumous Writings.] The purpose of this work is to turn that circumstance against them: and from the omission of the Doctrine, demonstrate the Divine original of the Law. So that the Reader

Reader sees, I am in order, when, to evince a *designed* omission, I explain the Law of punishing the crimes of Fathers on the Children, from the different natures of the two Dispensations; as going upon principles acceded to, though it be only *disputandi gratia*, by the Deists themselves.

P. 166. [EE] It hath been objected, "That the "Prophet here upbraids the Jews as blameable in the "use of this proverb." Without doubt. And their fault evidently consisted in this, That they would insinuate that an *innocent* posterity were punished for the crimes of their forefathers; whereas we have shewn, that when *the children's teeth were set on edge*, they likewise had been tasting.

P. 167. [FF] Dr. Stebbing has thought fit to support this charge of contradiction urged by Spinoza and Tindal, very effectually. He insults the author of the D. L. for pretending to clear up a difficulty, where there was none. "He [the author of the "D. L.] has also justified the equity of *another* Law, "that of *punishing posterity for the crimes of their* "*forefathers*.—Though it is one of the plainest "cases in the world, that God doth this EVERY DAY "in the *ordinary* exercise of his Providence." *Hist. of Abr.* p. 89.—MOSES says, *God will visit the iniquity of the Fathers upon the Children.* JEREMIAH and EZEKIEL say as expressly, that *God will not do so.* See, exclaim *Spinoza* and *Tindal*, the discordancies and contradictions amongst these Prophets. Softly, replies the Author of the *Divine Legation.* You mistake the matter; the contradiction is all a fiction of your own brains: Moses speaks of the *Jewish* Dispensation; and Jeremiah and Ezekiel, of the Christian. I deny that, cries Dr. Stebbing: *punishing posterity for the crimes of their Fathers is done every day under the Christian Dispensation.* And thus the objection of Spinoza and Tindal, by the

the kind pains of Dr. Stebbing, remains not only unanswered, but unanswerable. And yet this is the man, whose zeal would not let him rest till he had rescued Revelation from the dishonours brought upon it by the Author of the *Divine Legation*.

P. 169. [GG] Yet Dr. Sykes modestly tells his reader, that "there is not any ground or foundation "for this distinction; for that the innocent posterity "were sometimes deprived of life for the crimes of "their Parents in virtue of this Law."—But here, as the Doctor has not to do with me, but with the Prophet, I leave it to be adjusted between them, as the Public shall think fit to arbitrate.—Another has even ventured to ask, "How the Posterity, if it suffer for "its own guilt, can be said to suffer for the transgres-"sions of its Parents?" As this doubt arises from the Prophet's words, *Your iniquity and the iniquities of your fathers together*, &c. I think myself not concerned to satisfy it, till these Writers have more openly rejected the authority of the Prophets.

P. 170. [HH] It is observable that by our own Constitution, no forfeitures attend capital condemnations in the Lord High Admiral's and Constable's Courts. And why? the reason is plain; those Judicatures proceed on the Roman, and not on the municipal laws of a feudal Government. Not but that the necessities of state frequently obliged other Governments, which never had been feudal, to have recourse to an extemporaneous confiscation. Even Rome itself sometimes exercised the severity of this punishment, even before it fell under the feet of its Tyrants. Cicero, to excuse the confiscations decreed against Lepidus, which affected his children, the nephews of Brutus, says to this latter: Nec verò me fugit quàm sit acerbum, parentium scelera filiorum pœnis lui. Sed hoc PRÆCLARE LEGIBUS COMPARATUM est, ut caritas liberorum amiciores parentes

reipublicæ redderet. Ep. ad Brutum liber, Ep. 12. And again: In qua videtur illud esse crudele, quod ad liberos, qui nihil meruerunt, pœna pervenit. SED ID ET ANTIQUUM EST, ET OMNIUM CIVITATUM. Ep. 15. Again, the same necessities of State have obliged Governments which had been originally feudal, but were so no longer, to retain this *Law of forfeiture*, essential to feudal Government even after all the feudal tenures had been abolished.—But he, who would see the LAW OF FORFEITURES defended on the more general principles of natural justice and civil policy, may have full satisfaction, in the very elegant and masterly Discourse so intitled.

P. 171. [II] Here Dr. Sykes, who so charitably takes the *Deists'* part, all the way, against the Author of the D. L. says, "It would have been well TO "HAVE TOLD US what this *doctrine* was which was "*brought to light*, and which *held up* these daring "transgressors, and which *continued* them after death "the objects of divine justice." Defence, p. 83. Can the Reader, when he casts his eye upon the text, and sees that *I had told him*, in so many words and letters, that it was a FUTURE STATE, think the grave Doctor in his senses? But this quotation from him will have its use. It will serve for a specimen and example of the miserable dispositions with which an *Answerer by profession* addresses himself to confute Writers who have taken some pains to consider their subject, and to express their meaning.

He goes on objecting to this *unknown* doctrine. He asks "*how this doctrine did these things?*" That is, how the doctrine of a *future state* could extend beyond the present life? This shews at least, he was in earnest in his ignorance, and perfectly well assured that *I had not told him what the doctrine was.*

He proceeds with his interrogations, and asks, *Why the punishing Children for their Fathers' faults, had no further use after the bringing in a future state?*

I had

I had told him long ago, it was because the punishment was employed only to supply the want of a future state. But to this, he replies,—*nothing hindered its being added to the doctrine of a future state.* It is very true: nor did any thing hinder *temporal rewards* from being added to the doctrine of a future state under the Gospel; yet when a future state was brought to light, by that Dispensation, both one and the other were abolished. But is it not a little strange that the Doctor, in thus insisting on its *further use*, on account of its being able to restrain more daring Spirits, by laying hold of their instincts, at all times, as well under an *unequal* as under an *equal* providence, should not see he was arguing against the DIVINE WISDOM, who by the mouth of the Prophet declared it of no further use under the Gospel dispensation?

P. 172. [KK] Ezechielis sententias adeo sententiis Mosis repugnantes invenerunt Rabini, qui nobis illos (qui jam tantum extant) libros Prophetarum reliquerunt, ut fere deliberaverint, ejus librum inter canonicos non admittere, atque eundem plane abscondissent, nisi quidam Chananias in se suscepisset ipsum explicare, quod tandem magno cum labore & studio (ut ibi narratur) aiunt ipsum fecisse, qua ratione autem non satis constat.—*Spinozæ Tract. Theologico-Pol.* pp. 27, 28. In the mean time it may be worth observing, that the explanation which I have here offered, cuts off the only means the modern Jews have of accounting for their long Captivity upon the Principle of the LAW's being still in force. Limborch urges Orobio with the difficulty of accounting for their present dispersion any other way than for the national crime of rejecting Jesus as the Messiah; seeing they are so far from falling into Pagan idolatries, the crime which brought on their other Captivities, that they are remarkably tenacious of the Mosaic Rites. To which Orobio replies, "that they are not their own sins for which they now suffer, but the sins of their forefathers."

Now Ezekiel has declared (and I have reconciled that declaration to the *Law and the Prophets)* that this mode of punishment hath been long abolished.

P. 174. [LL] Having thus reconciled the two Prophets, Moses and Ezekiel, on this point, one may be allowed to wonder a little at the want of good faith even in M. Voltaire, when it comes to a certain extreme.

This celebrated Poet has, like an honest man, written in defence of RELIGIOUS TOLERATION: and to inforce his argument, has endeavoured (not indeed like a wise one, who should weigh his subject before he undertakes it) to prove, that all Religions in the world, but the Christian, have tolerated diversities of opinion. This common weakness of rounding one's System, for the support of a plain Right which requires no such finishing, hath led him into two of the strangest paradoxes that ever disgraced common sense.

The one, that the *Pagan Emperors* did not persecute the Christian Faith: The other, that the *Jewish Magistrate* did not punish for Idolatry.

In support of the first, his *bad faith* is most conspicuous; in support of the latter, his *bad logic.*

If there be one truth in Antiquity better established than another, it is this, That the Pagan Emperors did persecute the Christians, *for their faith only*; established, I say, both by the complaints of the Persecuted, and the acknowledgement of their Persecutors. But this being proved at large in the preface to this very Volume*, it is enough to refer the Reader thither.

The other Paradox is much more pleasantly supported. He proves that the Mosaic Law did not denounce punishment on religious errors (though in direct words, it does so), nor did the Jewish Magistrate execute it (though we have several instances of the infliction recorded in their history).—And what is the convincing argument he employs? It is this, *The*

* See *Preface* to Books IV. V. VI. edit. 1758. Vol. IV. p. 35. of this Edition.—*Ed.*

frequent

frequent defections of the Jewish People into Idolatry, in the early times of their apostasies. An argument hardly so good as this,—*The Church of Rome did not persecute, as appears from that general defection from it, in the sixteenth Century.* I say, M. Voltaire's argument is hardly so good as my illustration of it, since the defection from the Church of Rome still continues, and the Jewish defections into Idolatries were soon at an end.

But we are not to think, this Paradox was advanced for nothing, that is, for the sake of its own singular boldness (a motive generally sufficient to set reason at defiance), nor even for the support of his general question. It was apparently advanced to get the easier at his darling subject, THE ABUSE OF THE MOSAIC RELIGION, that *Marotte* of our party-coloured Philosopher.—Take this instance, which is all that a cursory note will be able to afford.

M. Voltaire, speaking of the *rewards* and *punishments* of the Jewish Dispensation, expresses himself in this manner: "Tout etait temporel; et c'est la preuve que le savant Eveque Warburton apporte pour démontrer que la Loi des Juifs, était divine; parce que Dieu même étant leur Roi, rendant justice immédiatement aupres la transgression ou l'obéissance, n'avoit pas besoin de leur révéler une Doctrine qu'il réservait au tems, ou'il ne gouvernerait plus son peuple. Ceux qui par ignorance prétendent que Moyse enseignait l'immortalité de l'âme, ôtent au Nouveau Testament un de ses plus grands avantages sur l'ancien." p. 132. —Would not any one now believe (who did not know M. Voltaire) that he quoted this argument as what he thought a good one, for the divinity of the Mosaic Religion? Nothing like it. It was only to find occasion to accuse the Old Testament of contradiction. For thus he goes on,—"Cependant malgré l'énoncé précis de cette Loi, malgré cette declaration expresse de Dieu, qu'il punirait jusqu' à la quatriéme

génération; *Ezechiel* annonce TOUT LE CONTRAIRE aux Juifs, et leur dit, que le Fils ne portera point l'iniquité de son pere : il va même jusqu'à faire dire a Dieu, qu'il leur avait *donné des preceptes qui n'etaient pas bons.*" p. 133.

As for the *precepts which were not good*, the Reader will see that matter explained at large, as we go along. What I have to do with M. Voltaire at present, is to expostulate with him for his ill faith; that when he had borrowed my argument for the divinity of the Mosaic Mission from that mode of punishment, he would venture to invalidate it from an apparent contradiction between MOSES and EZEKIEL; when, in that very place of the *Divine Legation* which he refers to, he saw the two Prophets reconciled by an argument drawn from the true natures of two approximating Dispensations; an argument which not only removes the pretended contradiction (first insisted on by *Spinosa*, and, through many a dirty channel, derived, at length, to M. Voltaire), but likewise supports that very mark of divinity which I contend for.

But it is too late in the day to call in question the Religion or the good faith of this truly ingenious man. What I want, in this Discourse *sur la Tolérance*, is his CIVIL PRUDENCE. As an ANNALIST, he might, in his *General History*, calumniate the Jewish People just as his passions or his caprice inclined him: But when he had assumed the character of a DIVINE, to recommend *Toleration* to a Christian State, could he think to succeed by abusing *Revelation?* He seems indeed, to have set out under a sense of the necessity of a different conduct: But coming to his darling subject an abuse of the Jews, he could not, for his life, sustain the personage he had assumed, but breaks out again into all the virulence and injustice with which he persecuted this unhappy People in his *General History*; and of which the Reader will see a fair account, in this volume, p. 6, et. seq.

P. 175. [MM] This is the precise character of the writings of the Old Testament. And this state of them (to observe it only by the way) is more than a thousand answers to the wild suspicions of those writers, who fancy that the Jews, since Christ, have corrupted their sacred Scriptures, to support their superstitions against the Gospel; and amongst other erasements have struck out the Doctrine of life and immortality; which, say these Visionaries, was, till then, as plainly taught in the Old as in the New Testament: For had these supposed Impostors ever ventured on so bold a fraud as the adulterating their sacred Writings, we may be well assured their first attempt would have been to add the doctrine of a future state, had they not found it there, rather than to take it away if they had: since the *omission* of the doctrine is the strongest and most glaring evidence of the *imperfection of the Law*; and the insertion of it would have best supported what they now hold to be one of the most *fundamental* points of their Religion. —But this is not a folly of yesterday. Irenæus tells us that certain ancient Heretics supported their wild fancies against Scripture, which was against them, by the same extravagant suspicion, that it had been interpolated and corrupted. Notwithstanding, I am far from thinking these Moderns borrowed it from them. They found it in our common Nature, which always goes the nearest way to work, to relieve itself.

P. 176. [NN] We shall now understand the importance of a remark, which the late Translator of Josephus employs to prove the genuineness of a fragment or homily, given by him to that Historian: "There is one particular observation (says he) "belonging to the contents of this fragment or homily, "that seems to me to be DECRETORY, and to deter- "mine the question that some of this Jewish church, "that used the Hebrew copy of the Old Testament, "nay rather, that Josephus himself in particular was

" the author of it. The observation is this, that in " the present address to the Greeks or Gentiles there " are near forty references or allusions to texts of the " New Testament; AND NOT ONE, TO ANY OF THE " OLD TESTAMENT either in Hebrew or Greek; " and this in a discourse concerning HADES; which " yet is almost five times as often mentioned in the " Old Testament as in the New. What can be the " reason of this? But that the Jewish Church at " Jerusalem used the Hebrew Bible alone, which those " Greeks or Gentiles, to whom the address is here " made, could not understand; and that our Josephus " always and only used the same Hebrew Bible?" *Mr. Whiston's Dissert.* prefixed to his *Transl. of Josephus*, p. 105.—*What can be the reason* (says he) *of this* mystery? He unfolds it thus: *The Jewish Church of Jerusalem used the Hebrew Bible alone, which those Greeks or Gentiles, to whom the address is here made, could not understand.* So that because the Audience did not understand Hebrew, the Preacher could not quote the texts, he had occasion for, in Greek. But he supposes the Author could not quote the Greek, because it must needs have been that of the *Septuagint*; which the Jewish Church at Jerusalem would not use. Now admit there were no other Greek to be had, or allowed of, Can any man believe that if this Jewish Preacher would turn himself to the Gentiles, he could be such a bigot as to be afraid of quoting the Old Testament in a language they understood, because his Church used only the Original, which they understood not? Or if he had been such a bigot, Would he have dared to preach to the Gentiles at all? What then but the fondness for an hypothesis could make men ramble after such reasons, when so obvious an one lies just before them? Why did he this, do you ask? For this plain reason: His subject was a *future state of reward and punishment*, and he had more sense than to seek for it where it was not to be found. *O, but* HADES *is almost five*

times

times as often mentioned in the Old Testament as in the New. Indeed! But the fragment is not about the *word*, but the *thing*. In the Old Testament it signified the receptacle of *dead bodies*; in the New, the receptacle of *living souls*. But though this learned writer can, without doubt, laugh at those who seek the *Trinity* in the Old Testament, yet he can in good earnest go thither in search of a *Future state*. Yet this latter is not in any comparison so clearly hinted at as the other: and no wonder; a Future state is circumscribed to the New Testament, as *brought to light* by the Gospel; but the doctrine of the Trinity is no where said to be so circumscribed.

P. 178. [OO] To all this Dr. Stebbing has an *Answer* ready. "The History of the persecution "under Antiochus (says he) is written by two His- "torians, namely, the Author of the first book "of Maccabees, and the Author of the second. "This last writer has recorded the profession of the "Martyrs concerning their belief of the doctrine of "the Resurrection; but the first has entirely omitted "it: nor is there one word about a resurrection or "future state to be found throughout his whole "History, though it is certain it was now the national "belief. *So* UNSAFE *a thing is it to rely upon the* "MERE *silence of historians*, when they undertake to "write a history *not of doctrines* but of the trans- "actions of men." *Exam.* p. 116.

I will tell him of an unsafer thing: which is, venturing to draw *parallel cases*; as he has done here; for they may happen (as hath happened here) to be *cases most unlike*.

In a large and miscellaneous Volume, composed by various Writers of different times and states, and containing the Law, the Religion, and the History of the Jews, from Moses to the Captivity, neither the Doctrines of the resurrection nor a future state are ever once mentioned.

This

This is the Fact. And to obviate my inference from it,—"That the Jews, during that period, were unac-"quainted with the Doctrines," this able Divine opposes the two books of *Maccabees*, containing the story of one short period, when, it is confessed, these Doctrines were of national belief; in the first of which Books, there is no mention of the Doctrine, and in the second, a great deal: the reason both of the mention and of the silence being self-evident. It is recorded in the *second* book, where there is a detailed account of the Martyrs for the Jewish Faith: it is omitted in the *first*, where there is no account of any such thing.

Yet these are brought as *parallel cases:* Let us therefore do them all honour.

1. Several volumes of the sacred Canon contain a *history of doctrines.*

The two books of Maccabees contain only a *history of civil transactions.*

2. None of the inspired Writers of the Canon, before the Captivity, ever once mention the Doctrines of a resurrection or a future state.

Of the two books of Maccabees, one of them mentions the Doctrines fully and at large.

3. The sacred Canon comprises a vast period of time, and treats of an infinite variety of matters.

The two books of Maccabees are small tracts of an uniform subject, and contain only the story of one revolution in the Jewish State.

Unconscious, as should seem, of all this difference, the learned Doctor concludes—*So unsafe a thing it is to rely on the* MERE SILENCE *of Historians, when they undertake to write a history* NOT OF DOCTRINES, *but of the transactions of Men.* In which, these THREE FALSEHOODS are very gravely and magisterially insinuated: That the writers of the two books of Maccabees are equally *silent* with the Writers of the Canon: 2. That all the Writers of the Canon are writers of a History, *not of the Doctrines*, but merely of

of the civil transactions of men, equally with the writers of the two Books of Maccabees: And 3. That the thing relied on by me, is the MERE SILENCE of Historians. Which falsehood if the Reader does not see from what has been said above, he may be pleased to consider, that *mere silence* is when a Writer omits to say a thing which it was indifferent to his purpose whether he said or not. But when he omits to say a thing, which it was much to his purpose to say, this is not a *mere silence*. It is a *silence* attended with a *circumstance*, which makes the evidence drawn from that *silence* something more than negative, and consequently, something more than *mere silence*. So much for Dr. Stebbing.

A Cornish Writer * pursues the same argument against the *Divine Legation*; but takes his *parallel* much higher. "There is no one (says he) who reads "HOMER, that can doubt whether a Future state were "the popular belief amongst the Greeks in the times "he writes of. And yet, by what I remember of him, "I believe it would be difficult to produce SIX in- "stances, in all his poems, of any actions either enter- "ed upon or avoided from the EXPRESS motive of "the rewards or punishments to be expected in the "other world."

I inferred from a Future state's NEVER being mentioned in the Jewish History, amongst the motives of men's actions (after it had been omitted in the Jewish Law and Religion), that it was not of popular belief amongst that people. Now here comes an Answerer, and says, that it is not mentioned above SIX TIMES EXPRESSLY in Homer, and yet that nobody *can doubt whether it were not the popular belief amongst the Grecks*. The good cautious man! Had it been but ONCE EXPRESSLY mentioned in the Old Testament, I should no more have doubted of its being of popular belief amongst the Jews, than he does. Why then do we doubt so little, in the case of the Greeks, but

* Mr. Peters.

for

for the same reason why we ought to doubt so much in the case of the Jews! HOMER (who gives a detailed account of a future state), this Writer allows, has mentioned it about *six times* as a motive. The SCRIPTURES (which, together with the history, deliver the Law and Religion of the Jews, in which a future state is omitted) mention it *not once*, as a motive. But this Answerer would make the reader believe, I made my inference from the *paucity*, and not from the *want*, of the mention. The same may be observed of another expression of this candid Gentleman's—*express motive*. Now much less would have satisfied me; and I should readily have allowed that the Jews had the popular belief amongst them, had the *motive been but once fairly implied*.

But let us take him at the best, and suppose Homer did not afford one single instance. What, I pray you, has HOMER in common with MOSES? Suppose, I should affirm from the Greek History, That the ancient WORTHIES always proportioned their work to their strength and bulk; and that my Answerer was not in an humour to let this pass; but, to confute me, would press me with the high achievements of TOM THUMB, as they are recorded in his authentic story; who was as famed for his turbulence in king Arthur's Court, as Achilles was in Agamemnon's: Would not this be just as much to the purpose, as to put the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* in parallel with the *Law and the Prophets?*

But Homer's poems have been so long called the *Bible of the Pagans*, that this Answerer appears, in good earnest, to have taken them for *religious History*; otherwise how could it have ever entered into his head, to make so ridiculous a comparison? My reasoning with regard to SCRIPTURE stood thus:—As all good History deals with the motives of men's actions, so the peculiar business (as it seems to me) of *religious History* is to scrutinize their *religious Motives:* Of these, the principal is the consideration of a Future state. And this not being so much as once mentioned

in

in the ancient Jewish History, it is natural to conclude that the Jews of these times had it not. But now, what has Homer's poems to do in this matter? I apprehend they are no *religious History*; but compositions as far removed from it as possible, namely, a *military* and *civil* Romance, brim-full of fabulous trumpery. Now in such a work, the writer surely would be principally solicitous about the *civil* motives of his Actors. And Homer, who is confessed to understand what belonged to every kind of Composition, would take care to keep within his subject; and, to preserve decorum, would content himself with supplying his Warriors and Politicians with such motives as might best set off their Wisdom and their Heroism: such as the *love of power*, in which I comprise, revenge on their Enemies; the *love of plunder*, in which is included their passion for fair Captives; and the *love of glory*, in which, if you please, you may reckon their regard for their Friends and their Country.—*But in Homer's* military and political Romances *there are hardly six instances in which a future state is mentioned as the express motive*; therefore the perpetual silence on this point, in the *religious History* of the JEWS, and the perpetual mention of it in the *religious Histories* of the SCEVI and the SARACENS, conclude nothing in favour of the argument of the *Divine Legation*.

P. 178. [PP] To this Dr. Stebbing objects, that "it means no more than that man was not to be re-"stored to his earthly human state." Exam. p. 60. And, to confirm this, he appeals to the tenth verse of this chapter, which runs thus, *He shall return no more to his house, neither shall his place know him any more.* But the learned Doctor should have reflected, that if Job says the dead man *returns no more to his house*, he gives a reason for his so saying, very inconsistent with the Doctor's interpretation of the 9th verse of the viith chapter. It was, because the dead man was got

into

into *the land of darkness and the shadow of death* [chap. x. 21.] it was because he was *not awake nor could be raised out of his sleep* [chap. xiv. 12.] But the very subject which Job is here treating, confutes the Doctor's interpretation: He is complaining that life is short, and that after death *he shall no more see good*, for that he *who goeth down to the grave shall come up no more*; *he shall return no more to his house* [ver. 7, 8, 9, 10.]; which at least *implies* that there was no good to be expected any where, but in this world: And this expectation is cut off in *express terms.*

P. 180. [QQ] To this sense of the text, Dr. Stebbing objects, and says, that *by no reward is meant none in this world.* Exam. pp. 63, 4. And in support of his interpretation, quotes the words of the verse immediately following—*neither have they any more a portion for ever in any thing that is done under the sun.* Now I agree with the learned Doctor, that these words are an explanation of the foregoing, of the *dead's not having any more a reward:* and from thence draw just the contrary inference, That the sacred writer, from the consideration of the dead's not returning to life to enjoy their reward, concluded that, when once death had seized them, they could have no reward at all; not even that imaginary one, the living in the memory of men, *for the memory of them* (says he) *is forgotten.* So again from the consideration in ver. 6. that the dead *had neither love, hatred, nor envy*, he had concluded, ver. 5. that THEY KNEW NOT ANY THING.—But the *premisses* and the *conclusion* not being in their usual order, our learned *Doctor*'s Logic did not reach to take the force of the *Preacher*'s.

P. 188. [RR] To all this, it hath been said,—"Christians have the promise of the life that now is, "excepting the case of persecution, Mark x. 30." The words of Jesus in the Evangelist are,—*there is no one*

one that hath LEFT *house or brethren, &c. for my sake and the Gospel's, but he shall receive an hundred fold now in this time, houses and lands, &c. with persecutions, and in the world to come, eternal life.* But these words evidently allude to the first Followers of Jesus, while the Church was under an extraordinary Providence, that is, during the Age of Miracles: and as that sort of Dispensation is always aided by the course of natural and civil events, we easily see how it would be promoted by LEAVING a country doomed to the most horrid and exterminating destruction. But St. Paul, where he assigns only *the life which is to come* to the followers of the Gospel, is speaking of a different thing, namely, of the genius of the Christian Dispensation in general, as it is opposed to Judaism.

P. 190. [SS] The serious reader, who considers all this, will not be a little surprised to hear that eminent Scholar and Divine, Dr. S. Clarke, talk in the following manner, where, after having spoken of the doubts and uncertainties of the ancient Philosophers concerning a future state, he concludes in these words,—"From all which it appears, that, notwithstanding all "the bright arguments and acute conclusions and "brave sayings of the best Philosophers, yet *life and* "*immortality* were not FULLY and SATISFACTORILY "*brought to light* by BARE NATURAL REASON."—[Ev. of Nat. and Rev. Relig. p. 146.]—It would be very strange if they had; since Scripture is so far from allowing any part of this discovery to *natural reason*, that it will not admit even the Mosaic Revelation to a share, but reserves it all for the *Gospel of* CHRIST: so that had natural Religion brought *life and immortality to light*, though not *fully and satisfactorily*, the learned Apostle would be found to have spoken much too highly of the prerogatives of the Gospel.

The

The truth is, the very learned Writer had two points to make out, in this famous work; the one was the *evidence of Natural Religion*; and, under that head, he is to shew, that it taught life and immortality. His other point was, the *evidence of Revealed Religion*, and there, (to shew its use and necessity) he is to demonstrate that bare natural reason could not discover life and immortality. Thus the very method of his demonstration obliged him, in the former part, to give to natural Religion an honour which, in the latter part, he was forced to take away: and to reconcile them with one another, was the purpose of the conciliating words above—*yet life and immortality were not* FULLY *and* SATISFACTORILY *brought to light by bare natural reason:* which indeed does the business; but it is at the expence of the learned Apostle, who says it was not brought to light at all, till the preaching of the Gospel.

P. 191. [TT] To this it has been said, "that the *mystery of the Gospel* here mentioned, is rather that which is meant by the word, ch. iii. ver. 3—9. namely, the calling in of the Gentiles to be fellow-heirs with the Jews."—For a confutation of this absurd fancy, read—*The free and candid Examination of the Principles advanced by the Lord Bishop of London*, chap. i. p. 24. & seq. where the learned and most judicious Author has sufficiently exploded it.

THE

DIVINE LEGATION OF MOSES

DEMONSTRATED.

BOOK VI.

SECT. I.

AFTER such convincing evidence that a FUTURE STATE did not make part of the Religion of MOSES, the reader would not have suspected, he must once more be stopped to hear a long Answer to a set of texts brought from the *Old* and *New* Testament to prove, *That the Doctrine of a future state of reward and punishment* DID *make the most essential part of the Mosaic Dispensation:* and this, not by a few fanciful Allegorists, or outrageous Bigots only, who will say, or do any thing; but by many sober men of all Sects and Parties, of all Times, and of all Religions.

I. Several of the ancient CHRISTIAN Writers were so persuaded of this point, that, not content to say, the doctrine of a Future state made part of the Mosaic Dispensation, they would be confident that the very Pagans learnt it all from thence. Some modern Christians have not been behind them in their *Faith*, but have far outstripped them in their *Charity*, while they treated the denial of this extravagant Opinion as

a new species of infidelity. It is true, they are all extremely confused and obscure about the way, they represent it to have been taught: And there have not been wanting, at all times, men of greatest eminence for parts and piety, who have not only doubted, but plainly denied this Future state to be in the Mosaic Religion; though, to be just to all, with the same inconsistency and embarras that the others have maintained it *. However, the more current doctrine hath always been, *That a future state of rewards and punishments was taught by the Law of Moses.*

As surprising as this may seem to those who have weighed the foregoing Evidence, yet indeed no less could be expected from such a number of concurrent and oddly combined Prejudices, which have served, till now, to discredit one of the clearest and most important truths of Revelation.

1. The first was, that several Patriarchs and Prophets, both before and under the Mosaic Dispensation, were certainly favoured with the revelation of man's *Redemption*; in which the doctrine of a Future state is eminently contained: And they think it utterly incredible that These should not have conveyed it to their People and Posterity.

2. They could not conceive how a Religion could be worthy of GOD, which did not propose to its Followers a Future State of rewards and punishments; but confined their views to the carnal things of this life only.

3. The truth, here attempted to be established had been received and *abused* by the Enemies of all true Religion and Godliness; such as the Sadducees of the old Jewish church, the Gnostics of the old Christian, and Unbelievers in all Churches.

* See note [A] at the end of this volume.

4. Lastly,

4. Lastly, men were kept fast within the error into which these prejudices had drawn them, by never rightly distinguishing between a Future State of reward and punishment, as taught by what men call *natural Religion*, and a future state as taught by *Christian Revelation;* which is the CLEW, as we shall see hereafter, to conduct us through all the errors and perplexities of this *region of darkness*, till we come into the full and glorious *light of the Gospel.*

But in Religious matters, combinations much less strange are sufficient to defeat the credit of the plainest Fact. A noted instance of what OBSTINACY alone can do against the self-evidence of Truth, will abate our wonder at the perversity in question; at least it may be put to use, in the *history of the human mind*, towards which, will be found materials, neither vulgar nor few, in the course of this Work. There is a sect, and that no inconsiderable one, which, being essentially founded in Enthusiasm, hath, amongst other of its strange freaks, thrown out the institution of WATER-BAPTISM from its scheme of Christianity. It is very likely that the illiterate Founder, while rapt in his fanatic visions, did not reflect that, of all the institutions of our holy Religion, this of *water-baptism* was least proper to be called in question; being most invincibly established by the practice both of PAUL and PETER. This latter finding that the houshold of Cornelius the GENTILE *had received the Holy Ghost*, regarded it as a certain direction for him to admit them into the Church of Christ, which he did by the initiatory Rite of *water-baptism.* [Acts x. 47.] Paul, in his travels through the Lesser Asia, finding some of the JEWISH Converts who had *never heard of the Holy Ghost*, and, on enquiry, understanding they had been only baptised by water unto *John's Baptism*,

thought fit to baptise them with water *in the name of the Lord Jesus*, that is, to admit them into the Church; and then *laying his hands upon them, the Holy Ghost came upon them, and they spake with tongues, and prophesied.* [Acts xix. 4, 5, 6.]

In spite of these two memorable transactions, the Quakers have notwithstanding rejected *water-baptism.* What is the pretence? "*Water-baptism* (it seems) is John's baptism, and only a type of baptism by the Holy Ghost or by Fire; so that when this last came in use, the former ceased and was abolished." Yet in the two histories given above, both these fancies are reproved; and in such a manner as if the stories had been recorded for no other purpose: For in the adventure of Paul, the *water-baptism of Jesus* is expressly distinguished from the *water-baptism of John:* And, in that of Peter, it appears, that *water-baptism* was necessary for admittance into the church of Christ, even after the ministration of *baptism by fire*, or the communicated power of the Holy Ghost. It is further observable, that these two Heads of the Mission to the two great divisions of Mankind, the JEWS and GENTILES, here acted in one another's province; Peter the Apostle of the Jews administering baptism to the Gentile houshold of Cornelius; and Paul the Apostle of the Gentiles administering the same rite to the Jewish Converts. And why was this crossing of hands, but to obviate that silly evasion, that *water-baptism* was only partial or temporary?

But what is reason, evidence, or truth, when opposed to religious Prejudice! The Quakers do not hold it to be clearer, that *repentance from dead works* is necessary for obtaining the spiritual benefits of the Gospel-Covenant, than that WATER-BAPTISM is abolished, and of no use to initiate into the Church of Christ.

II. But

II. But to proceed. The error in question is, as we said, not confined to the Christian Church. The Jews too maintain it with equal obstinacy, but not with equal indiscretion; *the Children of this world are, in their generation, wiser than the Children of light* *; their fatal adherence to their long abolished Rites depending altogether upon this single prejudice, that Moses taught a future state of rewards and punishments: for if he taught it not, the consequence is inevitable, his Religion could only be *preparatory* to one that did teach it. This therefore is their great support; and wisely have they inforced it by all the authority and power of the Synagogue †. But what Christians gain by so doing, I confess I know not. What they lose hath been seen in part, and will be more fully shewn hereafter: not one demonstration only, of the truth of the Mosaic Mission, but all true conception of that divine harmony which inspires every part, and runs through the whole of God's great Dispensation to Mankind.

III. The error is still more extensive; and hath spread from true Religion to the false; a fitter soil for its reception. For the MAHOMETANS, who hold the divine original of the Jewish Law, are as obstinate as the best, in giving it this mistaken advantage: but, it must be owned, under a modester pretext. Their expedient for saving the honour of the Law is this: They confess the Doctrine of a future state is not at present to be found there: BUT THOUGH IT BE NOT THERE, IT OUGHT TO BE; for that the Jews, in pure spite to them, have interpolated their Bible, and taken away all mention of it ‡.

Matters

* Luke xvi. 8. † See Vol. IV. Dedication to the Jews.

‡ *Taourat.*—Les Musulmans disent, que c'est l'ancien Testament, que Dieu revela à Moyse écrit en langue Hebraique, livre

Matters being in this odd situation, the reader will excuse me, if I turn a little to consider those texts of Scripture which CHRISTIAN writers have produced to prove, *That a future state of rewards and punishments does indeed make part of the Mosaic Religion.*

II.

But here let me observe, that the thing of most consequence in this part of my discourse will be to state the question clearly and plainly. When that is done, every common reader will be able, without my help, to remove the objections to my System; or rather, the question being thus truly stated, they will fall of themselves.

I. My declared purpose, in this Work *, is to demonstrate *The Divine Legation of* MOSES, in order to use it for the foundation of a projected defence of Revelation in general, as the Dispensation is completed in Christianity. The medium I employ for this purpose is, that there was *no future state of reward and punishment in the Mosaic Religion.* I must needs therefore go upon these two principles:—1. That *Moses did not disbelieve a future state of reward and punishment.* 2. That *his Religion was preparatory to the Religion of* JESUS *which taught such future state.* Hence proceed these consequences:

1. From my holding that *Moses did not disbelieve a future state*, it follows, that all those texts of Scripture which are brought to prove that *the ancient Jews believed*

qui a été alteré & corrumpu par les Juifs.—C'est la le sentiment des Musulmans qui a été recueilli de plusieurs auteurs Arabes par *Hagi Khalfah.* Le même auteur dit—que l'on n'y trouve pas aussi aucun endroit où il soit parlé de l'autre vie, ni de la Resurrection, ni du Paradis, ni de l'Enfer, & que cela vient peut être de ce que les Juifs ont corrumpu leurs exemplaires.—Voyez la Bibliotheque Orientale de M. D'Herbelot, Mot. TAQUART.

* See Appendix to the first edition of the *Alliance between Church and State*, Vol. VII. p. 297, of this Edit.

believed the soul survived the body, are nothing to the purpose: but do, on the contrary, greatly confirm my Thesis: for which reason I have myself shewn that the early Jews did indeed suppose this truth.

2. From my holding that *the Religion of Moses was only preparatory to the Religion of* JESUS, it follows, that all such texts, as imply a *Future state of rewards and punishments in their* TYPICAL *signification* only, are just as little to the purpose. For if Moses's Religion was preparatory to one Future, it is, as I have shewn*, highly reasonable to suppose, that the essential doctrine of that New Religion was shadowed out under the Rites, or by the inspired Penmen, of the Old. But such texts are not only inconclusive, but highly corroborative of the opinion they are brought to oppose. For if future rewards and punishments were taught to the People under the Law, what occasion was there for any *typical* representation of them, which necessarily implies the throwing things into shade, and secreting them from vulgar knowledge? What ground was there for that distinction between a *carnal* and a *spiritual* meaning (both of which it is agreed the Mosaic Law had, in order to fit it for the use of two Dispensations) if it did not imply an ignorance of the spiritual sense during the continuance of the first? Yet as clear as this is, the contrary is the doctrine of my Adversaries; who seem to think that the *spiritual* and the *carnal* sense must needs always go together, like the jewel and the foil in Aaron's breast-plate.

Both these sorts of texts, therefore, conclude only against SADDUCEES and INFIDELS. Yet hath this matter been so little attended to, in the judgements passed upon my argument, that both sorts have been

* See the last Section of this Book.

urged as confutations of it. I speak not here of the dirty calumnies of one or two forgotten scribblers, but of the unequitable censures of some who better deserve to be set right.

II. But farther, As my position is, *that a Future state of reward and punishment was not taught in the Mosaic Dispensation*, all texts brought to prove the knowledge of it *after* the time of David are as impertinent as the rest. For what was known from this time, could not supply the want of what was unknown for so many ages before. This therefore puts all the prophetic Writings out of the question.

And now, when all these Texts are taken from my Adversaries, what is there left, to keep up the quarrel? Should I be so severe to insist on the common rights of Authors, of not being obliged to answer to convict impertinencies, this part of my task would be soon over. But I shall, in charity, consider these Texts, such as they are. However, that I may not appear altogether so absurd as the Inforcers of them, I shall give the reader my reasons for this condescension.

1. As to the FUTURE EXISTENCE OF THE SOUL, we should distinguish between the mention of it by Moses, and by the following Writers. These might, and, as we have shewn, did conclude for its existence from the nature of the thing. But Moses, who, we suppose, intentionally omitted the mention of *Future rewards and punishments*, would not, we must needs suppose likewise, proclaim the preparatory doctrine of the *Existence*. Nor could he, on the other hand, deny what he knew to be the truth. Thus, being necessitated to speak of Enoch's *Translation*, it could not be, but that a *separate existence* might be inferred, how obscurely soever the story was delivered. But had he said any thing, in his account of the Creation, which literally

literally implied (as the words, of man's being *made in the image of God*, and the *breath of life* being breathed into his nostrils, are supposed to do) that man had an immortal soul, then must Moses be supposed, purposely, to have inculcated that Immortality; contrary to what we hold, that he purposely omitted the doctrine built upon it, namely, a future state of reward and punishment. It will not be improper therefore to shew that such texts have not this pretended meaning.

2. Concerning a FUTURE STATE OF REWARD AND PUNISHMENT; several texts are brought as teaching it in a *typical sense*, which teach it in *no sense* at all: several as teaching it in a direct and *literal* sense, which only teach it in a *typical*. Both these, therefore, it may be proper to set in a true light.

3. Lastly, concerning the texts from the *later Prophets*, which are *without* the period in question; I own, and it is even incumbent on my Argument to prove, that these Prophets opened the first dawning of the doctrine of a *Resurrection*, and consequently of a *Future state of reward and punishment:* even these therefore shall in their proper place be carefully considered. At present let me just observe, that the dark veil under which the *first set* of Prophets delivered their *typical* representations was gradually drawn aside by the *later*.

SECT. II.

HAVING premised thus much to clear the way, and shorten the inquiry, I now proceed to my examination.

And first, of the *texts* brought from the OLD TESTAMENT.

Now

Now as the book of JOB * is supposed to teach both a SEPARATE EXISTENCE and a FUTURE STATE OF REWARD AND PUNISHMENT; and is besides thought by some to be the first of Moses's writings; and by others to be written even before his time, and by the Patriarch himself, I shall give it the precedence in this inquiry: which it deserves likewise on another account, the superior evidence it bears to the point in question; if indeed it bear any evidence at all. For it may be said by those who thus hold it to be the earliest Scripture (allowing the words of *Job, I know that my Redeemer liveth*, &c. to respect a future state) that the Jewish people must not only have had the knowledge of a FUTURE STATE *of rewards and punishments*, but, what is more, of the RESURRECTION *of the body*, and still more, of the REDEMPTION *of mankind by the Son of God:* therefore Moses had no need to inculcate the doctrine of a future state †. But I much suspect that the clear knowledge of so sublime a mystery, which, St. Paul says, *had been hid from ages, and from generations, but was now* (on the preaching of the Gospel) *made manifest to the Saints* ‡, was not at all suited to the times of Job or Moses. The learned and impartial Divine will perhaps be rather inclined to think, that either the book of Job was written in a much later age, or that this famous passage has a very different meaning. I shall endeavour to shew, that neither of these suspicions would be entertained without reason.

I.

First, then, concerning the book itself.

As to the Person of *Job*, the eminence of his Character, his fortitude and patience in afflictions, and

* See note [B] at the end of this volume.

† See note [C] at the end of this volume. ‡ Col. i. 26.

his

his preceding and subsequent felicity; these are realities so unquestionable, that a man must have set aside sacred Antiquity before he can admit a doubt concerning them. But that the book which bears Job's name was written by him, or in any age near his own, a careful and capable examiner will, I persuade myself, be hardly brought to believe.——In the order of this discourse therefore I shall inquire,

I. What kind of composition the book of Job really is.
II. In what age it was written. And,
III. Who was its Author.

I.

Even those who are inclined to suppose this a Work of the highest Antiquity, and to believe it an exact history of Job's sufferings and patience, and of GOD's extraordinary dispensations towards him, recorded by his own hand, are yet forced to confess that the Introduction and Conclusion are of another nature, and added by a later hand, to give that fulness and integrity to the Piece, which works of imagination, and only such works, require. This is a large concession, and plainly intimates that he who wrote the *Prologue* and *Epilogue*, either himself believed the body of the work to be a kind of *dramatic* Composition; or, at least, intended that others should have that opinion of it. I shall therefore the less scruple to espouse the notion of those who conclude the WHOLE TO BE DRAMATICAL. For the transferring the *Prologue* and *Epilogue* to a late writer, was only an expedient to get rid of a circumstance which shewed it to be such a sort of work; and which consequently might bring it down to an age remote from that of the subject. But those who contrived this expedient seem to have had but a slender idea of the ancient *Drama*, which was generally rounded with a *Prologue* and *Epilogue* of this sort; to give,

by

by way of narrative, information of such facts as fell not within the compass of the one entire Action represented *.

I am induced to embrace this opinion from the cast of the STYLE, the SENTIMENTS, and COMPOSITION; all perfectly suited to such a kind of Work, and ill agreeing with any other.

1. As to the *Style*, it hath been observed by the Critics, even from the time of Jerom, that all but the introduction and conclusion is in measure. But as it was the custom of antiquity to write their gravest works of Religion, Law, and History, in verse; this circumstance alone should, I think, have little share in determining the nature of the Composition. And as little, I think, on the other hand, ought the frequent use of the Arabic dialect to be insisted on, in support of its high original, since, if it be of the *nature*, and of the *date*, here supposed, an able writer would chuse to give his Fable that air of antiquity and verisimilitude.

2. But when we take the *sentiments* along, and find throughout the whole, not only verse but poetry, a poetry animated by all the sublimity of figures and luxuriance of description; and this, on the coolest and most abstracted subject; we cannot chuse but conclude it to be a work of imagination. Nor is it sufficient to say, that this is owing to an Eastern genius, whose kindling fancy heats all his thoughts into a glow of expression: for if the two ends be his who wrote the middle, as we have no reason to doubt, they shew him not unused to the plainest form of narration. And as to that Eastern genius itself, though distinguishingly sublime when a poetic subject has enflamed its enthusiasm, yet in mere history, nothing can be more cool and simple; as all acquainted either with their

* See note [D] at the end of this volume.

ancient

ancient or modern writers can inform us. But, what is more to our purpose, the sacred Prophets themselves, though rapt in ecstasy of the divine impressions, when treating of the question here debated, namely, *Whether and wherefore the Good are frequently unhappy and the Bad prosperous*, a question that came sometimes in their way, while they were reproving their impious and impatient countrymen, who by their repeated apostasies had now provoked GOD to withdraw from them, by degrees, his extraordinary providence; when, I say, they touch upon this question, they treat the matter with the utmost plainness and simplicity.

3. But the last and most convincing circumstance is the *form* of the composition. And here I shall not urge, as of much weight, what hath been observed by some who take this side of the question, the scenical image of Job and his friends sitting together on the ground seven days and seven nights without a word speaking*. Because we reasonably suppose no more to be meant than that excess of mutual grief making them unfit to give, and him to receive consolation, they were some days † before they entered on the subject of their visit.

This rather is the thing to be admired, (if we suppose it all historic truth) that three cordial friends should make a solemn appointment to go *mourn with Job and to comfort him* ‡; that they should be so greatly affected with his extreme distresses, as to be unable to utter a word for *seven* whole *days* together;

* Chap ii. ver. 13.

† —Eo quod Hebræi soleant multiplicare per *septem* (h. e. septenarium numerum pro multitudine ponere). Maimon. More Nevochim. p. 267.

‡ Chap. ii. ver. 11.

and

and yet, after this, to be no sooner set in, than intirely to forget their errand, and *(miserable comforters as they were)* instead of mourning with him in the bitterness of his soul, to wrangle, and contradict him in every word he spoke; and this without the least softening of friendship; but with all the fierceness and acrimony of angry Disputants contending for a victory. It was no trifle neither that they insisted on, in which indeed disputatious men are often the warmest, but a contradiction in the tenderest point. They would needs have it, against all Job's protestations to the contrary, that his misfortunes came upon him in punishment for his crimes. Suppose their Friend had been wrong in the judgment he passed on things, Was this a time to animadvert in so pitiless a manner on his errors? Would not a small share of affection, pity, or even common humanity, have disposed them to bear one *seven days* longer with their old distressed Acquaintance? Human nature is ever uniform; and the greater passions, such as those of friendship and natural affection, shew themselves to be the same at all times: But we have an instance in these very times, in that amiable domestic story of Joseph. This Patriarch had been cruelly injured by his brethren. Providence at length put them into his power; and, in just resentment of their inhuman usage, he thought fit to mortify and humble them: but no sooner did he find them begin to be unhappy, than his anger subsided, violated affection returned, and he melted into their bosoms with all the tenderness of a fellow-sufferer. This was Nature: This was History. And shall we suppose the feelings of true Friendship to be inferior to those of Family-affection? David thought otherwise, where, speaking of Jonathan, he declares their mutual love was wonderful, surpassing

that of the strongest natural affection, the passion between the two sexes. The same have always been the Friendships of good men, when founded on virtue, and strengthened by a similitude of manners.

So that it appears, these three friends were of a singular complexion; and deservedly gave occasion to a proverb which sets them in no very honourable or advantageous light.

But suppose now the work to be *dramatical*, and we immediately see the reason of their behaviour. For had they not been indulged in their strange captious humour, the Author could never have produced a piece of that integrity of action, which a scenic representation demanded: and they might as well have held their tongues *seven days* longer, as not contradict, when they did begin to speak *.

This, as to what the *Drama* in general required. But had this been all we could say for their conduct, we should needs confess that the divine Writer had here done, what mere mortal Poets so frequently do; that is, had transgressed nature (in such a representation of friendship) for the sake of his Plot. But we shall shew, when we come to examine the MORAL of the poem, that nature is exactly followed: for that under these three *miserable Comforters*, how true friends soever in the *Fable*, certain false friends were intended to be shadowed out in the *Moral* †.

But now the dispute is begun and carried on with great vehemence on both sides. They affirm, they object, they answer, they reply; till, having exhausted their whole stock of arguments, and made the matter more doubtful than they found it, the Author, in this embarras, has recourse to the common expedient of

* See note [E] at the end of this volume.

† See note [F] at the end of this volume.

dramatic

dramatic writers, to draw him from his straits,—Θεὸς ἀπὸ μηχανῆς. And if ever that precept of the masters of composition,

Nec Deus intersit, nisi dignus Vindice nodus,

was well followed, it was here. For what can we conceive more worthy the presence of a GOD, than to interfere with his Authority, to silence those frivolous or impious disputes amongst men concerning the MYSTERIOUS WAYS OF PROVIDENCE? And that this interposition was nothing more, I think, is evident from hence: The subject, as we observe, was of the highest importance, namely, *Whether, and why, good men are unhappy, and the evil prosperous?* The disputants had much perplexed the question by various answers and replies; in which each side had appealed to reason and experience; so that there wanted a superior Wisdom to moderate and determine. But, to the surprise of all who consider this attentively, and consider it as a strict History, they find GOD introduced to do this in a speech which clears up no difficulties; but makes all hopes of deciding the question desperate, by an appeal to his Almighty power *. A plain proof that the Interposition was no more than a piece of poetical Machinery. And in that case we see the reason why the knot remains untied: for the sacred Writer was no wiser † when he spoke poetically in the Person of God, than when he spoke in the person of Job or his friends.

On these accounts, and on many more, which will be touched upon in the course of this dissertation, but are here omitted to avoid repetition, I conclude, that those Critics who suppose the book of Job to be of the *dramatic* kind, do not judge amiss.

* See note [G] at the end of this volume.

† See note [H] at the end of this volume.

Nor

Nor does such idea of this truly divine Composition at all detract from the proofs we have of the real existence of this holy Patriarch, or of the truth of his exemplary Story. On the contrary, it much confirms them: seeing it was the general practice of dramatic Writers, of the serious kind, to chuse an illustrious Character or celebrated Adventure for the subject of the Piece, in order to give their poem its due dignity and weight. And yet, which is very surprising, the Writers on both sides, as well those who suppose the Book of Job to be dramatical, as those who hold it to be historical, have fallen into this paralogism, *That, if dramatical, then the Person and History of Job are fictitious.* Which nothing but inattention to the nature of a dramatic Work, and to the practice of dramatic Writers, could have occasioned. Lactantius had a much better idea of this species of composition: " Totum autem, quod referas, fingere, id est, ineptum " esse, et Mendacem potius quam Poetam."

But this fallacy is not of late standing. Maimonides, where he speaks of those whose opinion he seems to incline to, that say the book of *Job* is parabolical, expresses himself in this manner *. *You know there are certain men who say, that such a man as* JOB *never existed. And that his* HISTORY *is nothing else but a parable.* These *certain men* were (we know) the Talmudists. Now, as, by *his History*, he means this book of Job, it is evident he supposed the fabulosity of the book concluded against the existence of the Patriarch. Nay, so insensibly does this inveterate fallacy insinuate itself into our reasonings on this subject, that even GROTIUS himself appears not to be quite free from the entanglement. Who, al-

* *Nósti quosdam esse, qui dicunt Jobum nunquam fuisse, neque creatum esse; sed* HISTORIAM *illius nihil aliud esse quàm Parabolam.*

though he saw these two things (a real Job and a dramatic representation of him) so reconcilable, that he supposed both; yet will not allow the *book* of Job to be later than Ezekiel, because that Prophet mentions Job *. Which argument, to have any strength, must suppose Job to be unknown until this Book was written; consequently that his Person was fictitious; contrary to his own supposition, that there was a real Job living in the time of Moses †. After this, it is no wonder, that the Author of the *Archæologiæ Philosophicæ*, whose talent was not critical acumen, should have reasoned so grossly on the same fallacious principle ‡. These learned men, we see, would infer a visionary Job from a visionary History. Nor is the mistake of another celebrated Writer less gross, who would, on the contrary, infer a real history from a real Job. *Ezekiel and St. James* (says Dr. Middleton, in his Essay on the Creation and Fall of Man) *refer to the* BOOK OF JOB *in the same manner as if it were a real history.* Whereas the truth is, they do not refer to the BOOK OF JOB at all.

II. The second question to be considered, is in what Age this book was composed.

1. First then we say in general, that it was written some time under the Mosaic Dispensation. But to this it is objected, that, if it were composed in those Times, it is very strange that not a single word of the Mosaic Law, nor any distant allusion to the Rites or Ceremonies of it, nor any historical circumstance under it, nor any species of idolatry in use during its period, should be found in it §.

* Chap. xiv. ver. 14. † Vid. Grotii Præf. in Librum Job.

‡ See note [I] at the end of this volume.

§ Jobus Arabs πολυκλειτὸς καὶ πολυμαθὴς, in cujus historiâ multa occurrunt antiquæ sapientiæ vestigia, antiquior habetur Moše. Idque multis patet indiciis: Primo, quòd nullibi meminerit rerum

I apprehend the objection rests on one or other of these suppositions, Either that the book is not a Work of the dramatic kind; or that the Hero of the Piece is fictitious. But both these suppositions have been shewn to be erroneous; so that the objection falls with them. For to observe DECORUM is one of the most essential rules of *dramatic* writing. He therefore who takes a real Personage for the subject of his poem will be obliged to shew him in the customs and sentiments of his proper Age and Country; unmixed with the manners of the Writer's later Time and Place. Nature and the reason of the thing so evidently demand this conduct, and the neglect of it has so ungracious an effect, that the polite Roman Historian thought the Greek tragic Writers were to blame even for mentioning the more modern name of Thessaly, in their pieces of the Trojan War. And he gives this good reason for his censure, *Nihil enim ex Persona Poëtæ, sed omnia sub eorum, qui illo tempore vixerunt, dixerunt* *.

But to lay no greater stress on this argument than it will bear; I confess ingenuously, that were there not (as the objection supposes) the least distant relation or allusion to the Jewish Law or History throughout the whole book, it might reasonably create some suspicion that the Author lived before those times. For though

à Mose gestarum, sive in Ægypto, sive in exitu, sive in deserto.—Secundo, quòd, cùm vir pius & veri numinis cultor fuerit, legi Mosaicæ contraiverit, in sacrificiis faciendis.—Tertio, ex ætatis & vitæ suæ mensura, in tertio, plus minus, à Diluvio sæculo collocandus esse videtur: vixit enim ultra ducentos annos.—Cùm de Idololatria loquitur, memorat primum ipsius genus Solis & Lunæ adorationem.—Neque Sabbathi neque ullius legis factitiæ meminit.—His omnibus adducor ut credam, Mosi Jobum tempore anteisse. Archæol. Philos. pp. 265, 266.

* See note [K] at the end of this volume.

though this rule of *decorum* be so essential to *dramatic* writing, yet, as the greatest Masters in that art frequently betrayed their own Times and Country in their fictitious Works *, we can hardly suppose a Jewish Writer more exact in what only concerned the critical perfection of his Piece. But as DECORUM is one of the plainest and simplest principles of Composition, we cannot suppose a good writer ignorant of it; and so are not to look for such glaring absurdities as are to be found in the dramatic writings of late barbarous ages; but such only as might easily escape the most exact and best instructed Writer.

Some slight *indecorums* therefore we may reasonably expect to find, if the Author were indeed a Jew: and such, if I am not much mistaken, we shall find. Job, speaking of the wicked man, says, *He that speaketh flattery to his friends, even the eyes of his children shall fail* †—GOD *layeth up iniquity for his children* ‡. And in the course of the dispute, and in the heat of altercation, this peculiar dispensation is touched upon yet more precisely. Job, in support of his doctrine, paints at large the happy condition of prosperous wicked men; a principal circumstance of whose felicity is, *that they spend their days in wealth, and in a moment go down to the grave* §, i.e. without sickness, or the terrors of slow-approaching death. The lot which prosperous libertines of all times, who believe no future reckoning, most ardently wish for. Now in the declining times of the Jewish Economy, pious men had always their answer ready. The prosperous wicked man (say they) shall be pu-

* See note [L] at the end of this volume.

† Chap. xvii. ver. 5.

‡ Chap. xxi. ver. 19. See note [M] at the end of this volume.

§ Chap. xxi. ver. 13.

nished

nished in his Posterity, and the afflicted good man rewarded in them. To the first part of the solution concerning the wicked, Job answers thus, *God layeth up his iniquity for his children; he rewardeth him, and he shall know it* *. As much as to say, the evil man sees and knows nothing of the punishment; in the mean time, he feels and enjoys his own felicity, as a reward. To the second part, concerning the good, he answers thus, *His eyes shall see his destruction, and he shall drink of the wrath of the Almighty: For what pleasure hath he in his house after him, when the number of his months is cut off in the midst?* † i. e. The virtuous man sees and feels nothing but his own miseries; for what pleasure can the good things reserved for his posterity afford to him who is to taste and enjoy none of it; being not only extinct long before, but cut off untimely?

In another place, Job says, *That idolatry was an iniquity to be punished by the judge* ‡. Now both this and the former species of punishment were, as we have shewn, peculiar to the Mosaic Dispensation. But a Jew might naturally mistake them for a part of the general Law of God and nature: and so, while he was really describing the Economy under which he lived, suppose himself to be representing the notions of more ancient times: which that it was his design to do, in the last instance at least, appears from his mentioning only the most early species of idolatry, the worship of the *Sun* and *Moon* §. Again, the language of Job with regard to a *future state* is the very same with the Jewish Writers. *He that goeth down to the grave* (says this writer) *shall come up no more:—they*

* Chap. xxi. ver. 19. † Ver. 20, 21.

‡ Chap. xxxi. ver. 28. See note [N] at the end of this volume.

§ Ver. 26.

shall not awake or be raised out of their sleep. Thus the Psalmist,—*In death there is no remembrance of thee.—Shall the dead* ARISE *and praise thee!*—And thus the author of Ecclesiastes,—*The dead know not any thing, neither have they any more a* REWARD *. And we know what it was that hindered the Jews from entertaining any expectations of a future state of rewards and punishments, which was a popular doctrine amongst all their Pagan neighbours.

But there is, besides this of *Customs* and *Opinions*, another circumstance that will always betray a feigned Composition, made in an age remote from the subject: and that is, the use of later *phrases*. These are more easily discovered in the modern, and even in what we call the learned languages: but less certainly, in the very ancient ones; especially in the Hebrew, of which there is only one, and that no very large Volume, remaining. And yet even here, we may detect an author of a later age. For, besides the phrases of common growth, there are others, in every language, interwoven alike into the current style, which owe their rise to some singular circumstance of time and place; and so may be easily traced up to their original: though, being long used in common speech in a general acceptation, they may well escape even an attentive Writer. Thus Zophar, speaking of the wicked man, says, *He shall not see the rivers, the floods, the* BROOKS OF HONEY AND BUTTER †. This in ordinary speech only conveyed the idea of *plenty* in the abstract; but seems to have been first made a proverbial saying from the descriptions of the holy Land ‡. Again, Eliphaz says, *Receive, I pray thee,* THE LAW FROM HIS MOUTH, *and lay up his words in*

* See the preceding Book, p. 178. † Chap. xx. ver. 17.

‡ See Exod. iii. 8.—xiii. 5.—xxxii. 3.—Deut. xxxi. 20.—2 Kings xviii. 32.

thine

*thine heart**. That is, *be obedient:* but the phrase was taken from the verbal delivery of the Jewish Law from Mount Sinai. The Rabbins were so sensible of the expressive peculiarity of this phrase, that they say the LAW OF MOSES is here spoken of by a kind of prophetic anticipation. Again, Job cries out, *O that I were—as I was in the days of my youth, when the* SECRET OF GOD WAS UPON MY TABERNACLE†, that is, *in full security:* Evidently taken from the residence of the Divine Presence or SHEKINAH, in a visible form, on the ark, or on the tent where the ark was placed. And again—*O that one would hear me! Behold my desire is that the Almighty would answer me, and that mine Adversary had written a book. Surely I would take it upon my shoulder and bind it as a* CROWN *to me*‡. A phrase apparently taken from the use of their PHYLACTERIES; which at least were as ancient as their return from Captivity, and coeval with their scrupulous adherence to the Law.

A third circumstance, which will betray one of these feigned compositions, is the Author's being drawn, by the vigour of his imagination, from the seat of Action and from the manners of the Scene, to one very different; especially, if it be one of great fame and celebrity. So here, though the scene be the deserts of Arabia, amongst family-heads of independent Tribes, and in the simplicity of primitive Manners, yet we are carried by a poetic fancy, into the midst of EGYPT, the best policied, and the most magnificent Empire then existing in the world.—*Why died I not from the womb* (says the chief Speaker) *for now I should have lien still and been quiet, I should have slept; then had I been at rest; with* KINGS *and*

* Chap. xxii. ver. 22. † Chap. xxix. ver. 4.

‡ Chap. xxxi. ver. 35, 36.

COUNSELLORS OF THE EARTH, *which build* DESOLATE PLACES *for themselves* *; i. e. magnificent buildings, in desolate places, meaning plainly the PYRAMIDS raised in the midst of barren sands, for the burying places of the kings of Egypt — *Kings and counsellors of the earth*—was, by way of eminence, the designation of the Egyptian Governors. So Isaiah —*the counsel of the wise counsellors of Pharaoh is become brutish. How say ye unto Pharaoh, I am the son of the wise, the son of ancient kings* †. But it may be observed in general, that though the Scene confined the Author to scattered Tribes in the midst of Deserts, yet his images and his ideas are, by an insensible allure, taken throughout, from crowded Cities and a civil policied People. Thus he speaks of the Children of the wicked *being crushed in the gate* ‡, alluding to a City taken by storm, and to the destruction of the flying inhabitants pressing one another to death in the narrow passage of the City-gates.—Again, of the good man it is said, that *he shall be hid from the scourge of tongues* §; that pestilent mischief which rages chiefly in rich and licentious Communities. But there would be no end of giving instances of this kind, where they are so numerous.

Hitherto the Author seems unwarily to have betrayed his Times and Country. But we shall now see that he has made numerous allusions to the miraculous History of his Ancestors with serious *purpose and design*. For this poem being written, as will appear, for the comfort and solace of his Countrymen, he reasonably supposed it would advance his principal

* Chap. iii. ver. 12, 13, 14. † Isaiah xix. 11.

‡ Chap. v. ver. 4. The Septuagint renders it very expressively κολαβρισθείησαν ἐπὶ θύραις ἡσσόνων.

§ See note [O] at the end of this volume.

end,

end, to refresh their memories with some of the more signal deliverances of their Forefathers. In the mean time, *decorum*, of which we find him a careful observer, required him to preserve the image of very different and distant times. This was a difficulty: and would have been so to the ablest Writer. Both these were matters of importance; and neither one nor the other could be omitted, without neglecting his Purpose, or deforming his Composition. How then can we conceive a skilful Artist would act, if not in this manner; he would touch those stories, but with so slight an outline and such airy colouring, as to make them pass unheeded by a careless observer; yet be visible enough to those who studied the Work with care and attention. Now this artful temper our divine Writer, we say, hath observed. The conduct was fine and noble: and the cloud in which he was forced to wrap his studied allusions, will be so far from bringing them into question, that it will confirm their meaning; as it now appears, that if an able Writer would, in such a work, make allusions to his own Times, Religion, and People, it must be done in this covert manner. Thus Job, speaking of the Omnipotence of GOD,—*which commandeth the sun, and it riseth not, and sealeth up the stars**, plainly enough alludes to the miraculous history of the people of GOD, in the Egyptian Darkness, and the stopping of the Sun's course by Joshua. This appeared so evident to a very learned Commentator, though in the other opinion of the book's being of Job's own writing, that he was forced to suppose that his Author spoke proleptically, as knowing by the gift of Prophesy, what GOD in a future age would do †.

So

* Chap. ix. ver. 7.

† Hoc videtur respicere historiam Josuæ vel Ezechiæ, quanquam ante illa Job extiterit. Sed hæc potuerunt per anticipationem dici,

So where Job says, *God divideth the sea with his power, and by his understanding he smiteth through the proud**, he evidently refers to the destruction of *Pharaoh and his host in the Red-sea.* Again, in the following words, *He taketh away the heart of the chief of the people of the earth, and causeth them to wander in a wilderness where there is no way* †, who can doubt but that they allude to the wandering of the Israelites forty years in the wilderness, as a punishment for their cowardice, and diffidence in GOD's promises; Eliphaz, speaking of the wonderful works of GOD, declares how he came to the knowledge of them, *I will shew thee; hear me; and what I have seen I will declare; which wise men have told from their fathers, and have not hid it* ‡: the very way in which Moses directs the Israelites to preserve the memory of the miraculous works of GOD. And who are these *wise men?* They are so particularly marked out as not to be mistaken: *Unto whom alone the earth was given, and* NO STRANGER PASSED AMONGST THEM §. A circumstance agreeing to no People whatsoever but to the Israelites settled in Canaan. The same Eliphaz, telling Job to his face, that his misfortunes came in punishment for his Crimes, says; *Thou hast taken a pledge from thy brother for naught, and stripped the naked of his cloathing* ‖. And Job, speaking of the most profligate of men, describes them, amongst other marks of their iniquity, by this, that *they caused the naked to lodge without cloathing, that they have no covering in the cold* ¶; that *they take a pledge of the poor, and cause him to go naked without cloathing.*

dici, quod Jobum non lateret penes Deum esse id efficere quandocunque luberet. *Codurcus in locum.*

* Chap. xxvi. ver. 12.
† Chap. xii. ver. 24.
‡ Chap. xv. ver. 17, 18.
§ Ver. 19.
‖ Chap. xxii. ver. 6.
¶ Chap. xxiv. ver. 7.

cloathing *. Who that sees this ranked amongst the greatest enormities, but will reflect that it must have been written by one well studied in the LAW OF MOSES, which says, *If thou at all take thy neighbour's raiment to pledge, thou shalt deliver it unto him by that the sun goeth down; for that is his covering only, it is his raiment for his skin: Wherein shall he sleep? And it shall come to pass, when he crieth unto me, that I will hear, for I am gracious.* Which Law, as the learned Spencer observes, was *peculiar* to this institution †. Elihu, speaking of GOD's dealing with his servants, says, "That he may *withdraw man from* "*his purpose*, and hide *pride* from man; he keepeth "back his soul *from the pit*, and his life from *perishing* "*by the sword.* He is chastened also with pain upon "his *bed*, and the multitude of his bones with strong "pain. His soul draweth *nigh unto the grave*, and "his life to the destroyers. If there be a *messenger* "with him, an *interpreter, one amongst a thousand* "*to shew unto man his uprightness*, then he is *gracious* "unto him, and saith, *Deliver him from going down* "*to the pit, I have found a ransom.* His *flesh shall* "*be fresher than a child's, he shall return to the days* "*of his youth.* He shall *pray unto God*, and he will "be favourable unto him, and he shall *see his face* "*with joy*; for he will render unto man his righteous-"ness ‡." This is the most circumstantial account of GOD's dealing with HEZEKIAH, as it is told in the books of *Chronicles* and *Kings*. GOD had delivered him from perishing by the sword of Sennacherib:

* Ver. 9, 10. Exod. xxii. 26, 27. See also Deut. xxiv. 12, & 17.

† —Leges illæ in Dei tantum Pandectis inveniendæ sunt, nempe, *de vestibus pignori datis*, quibus de pecunia concredita cavebant debitores, ante solis occasum, restituendis.—De Leg. Hebr. Rit. vol. i. p. 263.

‡ Chap. xxxiii. ver. 17, & seq.

"In

" In those days Hezekiah was sick to death, and " prayed unto the LORD: and he spake unto him, " and he gave him a sign. But Hezekiah rendered " not again, according to the benefit done unto him, " for *his heart was lifted up**." But the story is told more at large in the book of *Kings*:—" In those days " was Hezekiah *sick unto death*: and the *Prophet* " Isaiah, the son of Amos, came to him, and said unto " him, Thus saith the LORD, Set thine house in order, " for thou shalt die and not live. Then he turned " his face to the wall, and *prayed unto the Lord*.— " And it came to pass afore Isaiah was gone out into " the middle court, that the word of the LORD came " unto him, *saying*, *Turn again, and tell* Hezekiah, " Thus saith the LORD, I have *heard thy prayer*, " I have *seen thy tears*: Behold I will heal thee; *on* " *the third day thou shalt go up unto the house of the* " *Lord*. And Isaiah said, Take a lump of figs; and " they took and laid it on the boil, *and he recovered*†." The following words as plainly refer to the destruction of the first-born in Egypt, and Sennacherib's army ravaging Judea: *In a moment shall they die, and the people shall be troubled at midnight and pass away, and the mighty shall be taken away without hand*‡. These likewise clearly allude to the Egyptian Darkness,—*from the wicked their light is withholden*§.

No one, I think, can doubt but that the following description of God's dealing with Monarchs and Rulers of the world, is a transcript of, or allusion to, a passage in the second book of Chronicles. Elihu (who is made to pass judgment on the dispute) says, *He withdraweth not his eyes from the righteous:*

* 2 Chron. xxxii. 24, 25.
† 2 Kings xx. 1, & seq.
‡ Job xxxiv. ver. 20.
§ Chap. xxxviii. ver. 15.

but,

but, with kings are they on the throne, yea he doth establish them for ever and they are exalted. [This seems plainly to refer to the house of David, as we shall see presently.] He proceeds; *And if they be bound in fetters, and be holden in cords of affliction: then he sheweth their work, and their transgressions that they have exceeded. He openeth also their ear to discipline, and commandeth that they return from iniquity. If they obey and serve him, they shall spend their days in prosperity and their years in pleasure; but if they obey not, they shall perish by the sword,* &c.* Now hear the sacred Historian:—"God "had said to David and to Solomon his son, In this "house and in Jerusalem, which I have chosen before "all the tribes of Israel, will I put my name for "ever. Neither will I any more remove the foot of "Israel from out of the land which I have appointed "for your fathers, so that they will take heed to do "all that I have commanded them.—So Manasseh "made Judah and the Inhabitants of Jerusalem to "err.—And the Lord spake to Manasseh, and to his "people: but they would not hearken. Wherefore "the Lord brought upon them the captains of the "host of the king of Assyria, which took Manasseh "amongst the thorns, and bound him with fet-"ters, and carried him to Babylon. And when he "was in affliction, he besought the Lord his God, and "humbled himself greatly before the God of his "Fathers, and prayed unto him, and he was entreated "of him, and heard his supplication, and brought him "again to Jerusalem into his Kingdom. Then Ma-"nasseh knew that the Lord he was God †."

But the most extraordinary allusion of all to the *Jewish Economy*, and the most incontestable, is in the

* Chap. xxxvi. ver. 7—12. † 2 Chron. xxxiii. ver. 7—13.

following

following words, where speaking of the *clouds of rain*, our translation has it, *He causeth it to come, whether for correction, or* FOR HIS LAND, *or for mercy**. The Septuagint understood the sacred text in the same manner: Ταῦτα συντέτωκται παρ' αὐτῷ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς, ἐάν τε εἰς παιδείαν, ἐὰν εἰς τὴν γῆν αὐτοῦ, ἐὰν εἰς ἔλεον εὑρήσει αὐτόν. The meaning of which is, he bringeth it at such junctures, and in such excess, as to cause dearth, [*for correction*;] or so timely and moderately, as to cause plenty, [*for mercy*;] or lastly, so tempered, in a long continued course, as to produce that fertility of soil which was to make one of the blessings of the promised land, [FOR HIS LAND:] a providence as distinct from the other two, of *correction* and *mercy*, as the genus is from the species. This is a sufficient answer to the learned Father Houbigant's criticism on this verse, who corrects the common reading of the Hebrew text, and thinks the words, *or for the land*, to be a marginal illustration crept into the text. St. Jerom, and the vulgar Latin, instead of,—*whether for* CORRECTION, *or for his land*, translate, sive in UNA TRIBU, *sive in terra sua*. If this be the true rendering of the Hebrew, then it plainly appears that the writer of the book of Job alluded to the words of his contemporary prophet, AMOS:—"And also I have "withholden the rain from you, when there were yet "three months to the harvest; and I caused it to rain "upon one city, and caused it not to rain upon "another city: one piece was rained upon, and the "piece whereupon it rained not, withered." Without controversy, however, the Writer speaks of a SPECIAL PROVIDENCE upon God's own Land, the land of Judea; which plainly shews that the *peculiarity of the Jewish Economy* was still uppermost in his thoughts.

* Chap. xxxvii. 13.

In

In a word, this Economy is described by MOSES * as altogether different from that of other people. JOB's account of God's economy exactly quadrates with it. What are we then to think, but that there is a continued allusion to the LAW? in many places indeed so general, as not to be discovered without the assistance of those which are more particular. Besides, (which is the last observation I shall make on this point) in the management of these Allusions, we see, the Author has observed a strict *decorum:* and, to take off any offensive glare, has thrown over them a sober image of ancient manners. So that here we have the plain marks of former times intermixed with circumstances peculiar to the latter. What are we therefore to conclude, but that the Work is a species of dramatic writing, composed long after the age of the subject?

On the whole then it appears that this Objection of no allusions, which, if well grounded, had made nothing against the low date of a poetic Composition, is not indeed supported by fact: and this will be seen yet more fully hereafter.

But had the Objection any real foundation, They who make it, had been still much puzzled to account for the Author's silence concerning the *six days Creation*, and the institution of the *Sabbath*; as it must reduce them to the necessity of supposing that these things were unknown to JOB. And consequently, that the *Sabbath* was not a moral, but a positive Law only of the Jews; though Moses, to impress the greater reverence upon it, seems to make it coeval with the Creation. How they will get over this difficulty I know not. On the other hand, They who, with the low date of this book of Job, hold the *Sabbath* to be a positive Law, will find no difficulty at all. For, as

* Deut. iv. 39.

they

they would have put the mention of it, had it been mentioned, on the same footing with that of other things under the Mosaic Economy; so, the silence they will easily account for, on the received opinion of that time, that the *Sabbath* was a positive Law, instituted to separate and distinguish the Israelites from all others; and that therefore the mention of a thing so well known to be a Rite peculiarly Jewish, would have had an ill effect, in the mouths of men who lived before the Mosaic Law was given.

After such clear evidence that the book of Job was written under the Law, we have little need of Grotius's argument, for the support of this point, from the book's containing many passages similar to what we find in the Psalms. And it is well we have not, because I think his argument very equivocal. For if the sacred writers must needs have borrowed trite moral sentences from one another: it may be as fairly said, that the authors of the Psalms borrowed from the book of Job; as that the author of Job borrowed from the book of Psalms. But Mr. Le Clerc would mend this argument, by refining upon it, a way that seldom mends any thing. He says, one may know an original from a copy, by the latter's having less nature and force; and he thinks he sees this in the book of Job*."

Now

* — Grotius croit avec beaucoup plus de vrai-semblance, que cet auteur est posterieur à David & à Salomon, dont il semble qu'il ait imité divers endroits, & remarque fort judicieusement, qu'il y a dans ce livre des manieres de parler, qu'on ne trouve que dans Esdras, duns Daniel, & dans les Paraphrases Caldaïques. *Codurc*, dans son Commentaire sur Job, a aussi remarqué plusieurs Caldaismes dans ce livre, & quelques personnes savantes soûtiennent, que les Arabismes qu'on y croit avoir remarqué ne sont que des maniéres de parler Caldéenes. On y trouve des imitations de divers endroits des Pseaumes.—Mais vous me demanderez peut-être, comment on peut savoir, que c'est l'auteur du livre de Job qui a imité ces Pseaumes, & non pas les auteurs de ces Pseaumes

qui

Now admitting the truth of the observation, it would be so far from supporting, that it would overturn his conclusion. Mr. Le Clerc seems to have been misled into this criticism by what he had observed of writers of less polished ages borrowing from those of more. In this case, the copy will be always much inferior to the original. But the effect would have been just the contrary in a writer of the time of David borrowing from one of the time of Moses. And as the common opinion places the two books in those two different periods, they are to be supposed rightly placed, till the contrary be shewn. This observation we see verified in the Greek authors of the Socratic age, and in the Roman authors of the Augustan, when they borrowed from their very early country writers. But the matter of fact is, I think, just otherwise. The advantage of the sublime in the parallel passages seems to lie on the side of Job. And from hence we may draw Mr. Le Clerc's conclusion with much greater force. But indeed, take it either way, the argument, as I said, is of little weight. But it is pleasant to hear Schultens, and his epitomiser Dr. Grey, speak of the grandeur, the purity, and sublimity of the language spoken in the time of Job, as if the Hebrew had partaken of the nature and fortunes of the two languages made perfect by a long study of eloquence, in the Socratic and Augustan ages; and as if it was equally impossible for a Hebrew after the captivity (though inspired into the bargain) to imitate these excellencies of style, as for a writer of the iron age of Latin to have expressed the *beauty*

qui ont imité le livre de Job? Il est aisé de vous satisfaire. On connoit, qu'un auteur en imite un autre, à ceci, c'est que l'imitation n'est pas si belle que l'original, qui exprime ordinairement les choses d'une maniere plus nette & plus naturelle que la copie. Sentimens de quelques Theol. de Hol. p. 183.

beauty and weight of Ennius's elegance. We know what Enthusiasm can do on every object to which it turns itself. There have been Critics of this sort, who have found, even in the Hebrew of the Rabbins, graces and sublimities of style to match those in the best Greek and Roman historians; though, in reality, the graces it boasts partake much of those we see in the Law-French of our English-Reporters. The truth is, the language of the times of Job had its grandeur, its purity, and sublimities: but they were of that kind which the learned Missionaries have observed in the languages of certain Warrior-tribes in North America. And this language of the time of Job preserved its genius to late ages, by the assistance of that uniformity of Character which makes the more sequestered inhabitants of the East so tenacious of all their ancient modes and customs.

2. We now come closer to the question; and having proved the book of Job to be written under the *Mosaic Economy*, we say further, that it must be *somewhere between the time of their approaching captivity, and their thorough re-establishment in Judea.* This is the widest interval we can afford it. The reason seems to be decisive. It is this, That no other possible period can be assigned, in which the GRAND QUESTION, debated in this book, could ever come into dispute. This deserves to be considered.

The question *, a very foreign one to us, and therefore no wonder it should have been so little attended to, is, *Whether God administers his government over men here with an equal providence, so as that the good are always prosperous, and the bad unhappy; or whether, on the contrary, there be not such apparent inequalities, as that prosperity and adversity often*

* See note [P] at the end of this volume.

happen

happen indifferently to good and bad. *Job* maintains the latter part*, and his three friends the former. They argue these points throughout the whole book, and each party sticks firm to his first opinion.

Now this could never have been made matter of dispute, from the most early supposed time of Job's existence †, even to ours, in any place out of the land of Judea; the administration of Providence, which, throughout that large period, all People and Nations have experienced, being visibly and confessedly unequal. Men, indeed, at all times, have been indiscreetly prone to enquire how this inequality could be made consistent with GOD's justice or goodness: But, amidst the great variety of human opinions, as extravagant as many of those are which philosophic men have some time or other maintained, we do not find any of them ever held or conceived that *God's providence was equally administered.* This therefore, as we say, could be no question any where out of the land of Judea. But we say farther,

Nor in that land neither, in any period of the Jewish nation either before or after the time wherein we place it. Not *before*, because the dispensation of Providence to that people was seen and owned by all, to be equal: Not *after*, because by the total ceasing of God's extraordinary administration, the contrary was as evident.

Of this period, then, there are three portions; 1. The time immediately *preceding* the Captivity; 2. The *duration* of it; and 3. The *return* from it.

To the opinions which place it in either of the two first portions, as supposing it to be written for the consolation of the people going into or remaining in

* See note [Q] at the end of this volume.

† See note [R] at the end of this volume.

captivity, a celebrated Writer has opposed an unanswerable objection: "The Jews (says he) undoubtedly "suffered for their iniquity; and the example of Job "is the example of an innocent man suffering for no "demerit of his own: Apply this to the Jews in "their captivity, and the book contradicts all the "Prophets before, and at the time of, their captivity, "and is calculated to harden the Jews in their sufferings, and to reproach the Providence of GOD *."

There remains only the third portion; that is to say, the time of their return, and settlement in their own land. And this stands clear of the above objection. For the Jews came from the Captivity with hearts full of zeal for the Law, and abhorrence of their former idolatries. This is the account Ezra and Nehemiah † give of them: And with these dispositions, Jeremiah foretold, their restoration should be attended. *I will bring Israel again to his habitation, and he shall feed on Carmel and Bashan, and his soul shall be satisfied upon mount Ephraim and Gilead. In those days, and in that time, saith the Lord, the iniquity of Israel shall be sought for, and there shall be none; and the sins of Judah, and they shall not be found* ‡.

3. We say then (to come home to the question) that the BOOK OF JOB was written some time between the return, and the thorough settlement of the Jews in their own country.

Having suited the *Time* to the People, let us try if we can suit the People to the *Subject*; and see whether this, which was foreign and unnatural to every other period, was proper and seasonable to this here assigned.

* See note [S] at the end of this volume.

† Ezra, chapters iii. & vi. Nehemiah, chapters iii. viii. & ix.

‡ Chap. l. ver. 19, 20.

The

The Jews had hitherto, from their entrance into the land of Canaan to their last race of kings, lived under an extraordinary, and, for the most part, equal Providence. For these two states must be distinguished, and indeed are distinguished not only throughout this discourse, but throughout the whole Scripture history, although the terms, in both, be sometimes used indifferently to signify either one state or the other, where the nature of the subject leads directly to the sense in which they are employed. As their sins grew ripe, and the time of their Captivity approached, God so tempered justice with his mercy, as to mix, with the prophetic denunciations of their impending punishment, the repeated promises of a speedy Return; to be attended with more illustrious advantages for the Jewish Republic than it had ever before enjoyed. The appointed time was now come. And their Return (predicted in so plain and public a manner) was brought about with as uncommon circumstances. Those most zealous for the Law, and most confiding in the promises of God, as instructed by their parents in all his extraordinary Dispensations, embraced this opportunity of returning to their own country, to promote the restoration of their Law and Religion. And who can doubt but that they expected the same manifestations of God's Providence in their Re-establishment, that their Forefathers had experienced in their first Settlement? That they were indeed full of these expectations, appears from the remarkable account Ezra gives us of his distress, when about to return with Artaxerxes's commission, to regulate the affairs of Judea and Jerusalem. The way was long and dangerous; yet the Jews had told the king so much of their being under the peculiar protection of their God, that he was ashamed to ask a Guard for himself

and his companions; and therefore had recourse to prayer and fasting: *Then I proclaimed a fast there at the river Ahava, that we might afflict ourselves before our God, to seek of him a right way for us, and for our little ones, and for all our substance. For I was ashamed to require of the king a band of soldiers and horsemen, to help us against the enemy in the way: because* WE *had spoken unto the king, saying, The hand of our God is upon all them for good that seek him, but his power and his wrath is against all them that forsake him**. But in these their expectations of the old extraordinary Providence, they were greatly deceived; and the long traverses they underwent from the malice and persecution of their idolatrous neighbours, made them but too sensible of the difference of their condition from that of their Forefathers, in their first establishment. What then must be their surprise and disappointment to find their expectations frustrate, and their Nation about to be reduced to the common level of the *People of the earth*, under the ordinary providence of Heaven? At first it would be difficult for many habituated to, and long possessed of, the notion of an extraordinary Providence, to comprehend the true state of their present circumstances. This astonishment is finely described in the following words of Job, *As for me, is my complaint to man? and if it were so, why should not my spirit be troubled? Mark me, and be* ASTONISHED, *and lay your hand upon your mouth. Even when I remember, I am afraid, and* TREMBLING *taketh hold of my flesh.* WHEREFORE *do the wicked live, become old, yea are mighty in power?* &c†.—But others less pious would fall into doubts about GOD's justice; as not conceiving how he could discharge the expectations he had raised,

* Ezra viii. 21, 22. † Chap. xxi. ver. 4, 5, 6, 7.

without

without some very special regard to the safety of his chosen People: Nay there were some, as there always will be in national distresses of this nature, so impious as even to deny *the moral government* of God. Whom the Prophet Zephaniah thus describes,—"*Men that are settled on their lees; that say in their heart*, THE LORD WILL NOT DO GOOD, NEITHER WILL HE DO EVIL *." All would be in a state of anxiety and disorder. And this greatly increased, 1. From the bad situation of affairs *without:* For, till the coming of Nehemiah, the Walls of Jerusalem were in many places broken down; the Gates taken away; and the inhabitants exposed not only to the insults and ravages of their enemies, but to the reproach and contempt of all their neighbours, as a despicable and abandoned People. 2. From the bad situation of affairs *within:* Several disorders contrary to the Law had crept in amongst them; as the *marrying strange wives*, and practising *usury* with one another. Add to all this (what would infinitely increase the confusion), that a future state of Rewards and Punishments was not yet become a popular Doctrine. That this is a faithful account of their condition, will be seen when we descend to particulars: That it would have this effect on the religious sentiments even of the better sort is evident from the expostulation of Jeremiah, in whose time this *inequality* first struck their observation, *Righteous art thou, O Lord*, (says he) *when I plead with thee: yet let me talk with thee of thy judgments.* WHEREFORE *doth the way of the wicked prosper? Wherefore are all they happy that deal very treacherously* †? If it be said, "that the *inequality* could not now first strike their observation, in a Dispensation where the equal Providence had been gradually

* Chap. i. ver. 12. † Chap. xii. ver. 1.

declining from the time of Saul;" I ask, Why not? Since there must be some precise point of time or other, when the fact was first attended to. And where can we find a more likely one than this?

Could any thing therefore be conceived more seasonable and necessary, at this time, than such a consolation as the book of Job afforded? In which, on a traditional story, of great fame and reputation over all the East, a good man was represented as afflicted for the trial of his virtue, and rewarded for the well-bearing his afflictions; and in which, their doubts concerning GOD's Providence were appeased by an humble acquiescence under his almighty power. And, therefore, I suppose it was, that in order to quiet all their anxieties, and to comfort them under their present distresses, one of their Prophets at this very period composed the BOOK OF JOB. And here let me observe, that, to the arguments already given for fixing the date of the book of Job at this precise time of the Jewish Republic, may be added the following: Job says, *He knoweth the way that I take: When he hath* TRIED *me, I shall come forth as* GOLD*. But we have shewn, in speaking of what Maimonides calls the *Chastisements of Love*, that they were unknown to the Jewish religion till the times of their later Prophets†. Now here the *Chastisements of Love* are expressly described.

To proceed:—If such were the end of composing this poetic story, we cannot but believe that every thing in it would be fitted to the circumstances of the Times. But this could not be done without making the poem ALLEGORICAL as well as *dramatic*. That is, without representing the real persons of that age under the persons of the *drama*. And this would be

* Chap. xxiii. ver. 10. † See Book V.

according

according to the exactest rules of good writing: For when some *general moral* fitted for all times is to be recommended, it is best shewn in a simple DRAMATIC habit: but when the author's purpose is to convey some *peculiar truths*, circumscribed by time and place, they have need to be inforced by ALLEGORIC Images. And in fact, we shall find this poem to be wholly allegorical: The reason is convincing. There are divers circumstances added to each character, which can by no means belong to the persons *representing:* we conclude, therefore, that others are meant under those characters, namely, the persons *represented.* Nor did the Author seem much solicitous to conceal his purpose, while in his introduction to some of Job's speeches he expresseth himself in this manner,—*moreover Job continued his* PARABLE *and said**. Which word *parable* properly signifies in Scripture the representing one thing by another. Jerom in his preface to the book of Job, if I understand him right, seems to say much the same thing:—"OBLIQUUS "enim etiam apud Hebræos totus liber fertur, et "lubricus, et quod Græci Rhetores ἐσχηματισμένον †, "DUM QUI ALIUD LOQUITUR, ALIUD AGIT: ut si "velis anguillam vel murenulam strictis tenere ma-"nibus, quanto fortius presseris tanto citius elabitur." This description of the work, and the comparison by which Jerom illustrates his description, is a lively picture of an ALLEGORY; in which the literal sense, when you begin to grasp it closely, slips through your fingers like an eel. And in this sense we shall find the speeches of Job to be extremely *parabolical.* For it is to be observed, that, from this place, where Job is said to *continue his Parable*, from ch. xxvii. to chap. xxxi. which is the winding up of the controversy

* Chap. xxvii. ver. 1. Chap. xxix. ver. 1. † Λόγος.

between

between him and his friends, there are more allusions to the Jewish state than in all the rest of the book together.—But to leave no room for doubt in this matter, let us now examine each character apart*.

I. In the person of Job we have a good man afflicted, and maintaining his innocence; equally impatient of pain and contradiction; yet, at length with all submission bowing to the hand of God; and finally rewarded for it. Had this been a fictitious Character in an invented story, we could have only gathered this general moral from it, "That virtue and submission to the divine pleasure, notwithstanding the common frailties of humanity, will assuredly engage the care of Providence." But as this Hero of the poem was a real Personage; and so greatly famed for his exemplary patience in afflictions, that his case became proverbial †; we can never, on the common principles, account for his behaviour, when we find him breaking out ever and anon into such excesses of impatience as border nearly upon blasphemy ‡. The judicious Calmet cannot forbear observing on this occasion: "En effet Job avoit marqué dans ses "plaintes une vivacité que pouvoit être interprétée "en mauvaise part. Il s'etoit plaint de la rigeur de "Dieu; il avoit deploré son malheur d'une maniere "qui avoit besoin d'une interpretation bénigne §." And to the same purpose Albert Schultens: "In eo "excessu ut ne nunc quidem Jobum culpa liberare "possumus, ita facile intelligitur, multo magis talibus "dictis offendi tunc debuisse Elihuum, ignarum "hactenus, quid Deus de Jobo ejusque causa pro-

* See note [T] at the end of this volume.

† *Ye have heard of the Patience of Job*, James v. 11.

‡ See note [U] at the end of this volume.

§ Sur chap. xxxiii. ver. 10.

"nunciaturus

" nunciaturus esset *." Thus softly do these Commentators speak, in their embarras to reconcile this representation of Job to his traditional Character for patience. The *Writing* then and the *Tradition* being so glaringly inconsistent, we must needs conclude, 1. That the fame of so great Patience arose not from this book. And, 2dly, That some other Character, shadowed under that of Job, was the real cause of the Author's deviation from the general Tradition.

And this Character, I say, was no other than the JEWISH PEOPLE. The singularity of whose situation as a *selected Nation* is graphically described in the beginning of the book, where Satan is brought in, speaking of the distinguished honour done to Job by his Maker. *Hast thou not made a* HEDGE *about him, and about his house, and about all that he hath, on every side*†? The great point which Job so much insists upon throughout the whole book is his *innocence*: and yet, to our surprise, we hear him, in one place, thus expostulating with GOD: *Thou writest bitter things against me, and makest me to possess the* INIQUITIES OF MY YOUTH ‡. This can be accounted for no otherwise than by understanding it of the PEOPLE: whose repeated iniquities on their first coming out of Egypt, were in every Age remembered, and punished on their Posterity. Again, the twenty-ninth chapter is an exact and circumstantial description of the prosperous times of the Jewish People; several parts of which can be applied with no tolerable propriety to the condition of a private man:—" O that I were as " in the days when GOD preserved me, when his " candle shined upon my head, and when by his " LIGHT, I walked through darkness: As I was in

* On the same place.

† Chap. i. ver. 10. ‡ Chap. xiii. ver. 26.

" the

" the days of my youth, when the SECRET OF GOD " was upon my TABERNACLE :—When I washed my " steps with BUTTER, and the rock poured me out " rivers of OIL.—I put on righteousness and it clothed " me: my judgment was as a robe and a diadem.—I " brake the jaws of the WICKED, and pluckt the spoil " out of his teeth.—I CHOSE OUT THEIR WAY, and " sat chief, and dwelt as a KING in the army *." In these words the writer evidently alludes to the *pillar of fire* in the Wilderness;—The *Schekinah* in the tabernacle;—The *land flowing with milk and honey*;—The administration of the *judges*;—The curbing the ravages of the *Philistians*;—And the glory of their first *Monarchs*. Well therefore might the Writer, in his introduction to this speech, call it a PARABLE.

This will lead us next to consider the *Age*, as well as *People* meant. Job, speaking of his misfortunes, says, *For the thing which I greatly feared is come upon me, and that which I was afraid of is come unto me. I was not in safety, neither had I rest, neither was I quiet, yet trouble came* †. But in other places he speaks very differently. He wishes *he were as in months past, for then* (says he) *I shall die in my nest, and I shall multiply my days as the sand* ‡. And again, *When I looked for good, then evil came upon me: and when I waited for light, there came darkness* §. These things are very discordant, if understood of one and the same person; and can never be reconciled but on the supposition of an *allegorical* reference to another Character; and, on that, all will be set right. For this disquiet, and fear of approaching trouble, was the very condition of the Jews on their first return from the Captivity. Thus Ezra expresseth it: *And they set*

* Chap. xxix. ver. 2, & seq.
† Chap. iii. ver. 25, 26.
‡ Chap. xxix. ver. 18.
§ Chap. xxx. ver. 26.

up

*up the altar upon his bases (for fear was upon them, because of the people of those countries) and they offered burnt-offerings thereon unto the Lord**. And thus Zechariah, who prophesied at this time: *For before these days there was no hire for man, nor any hire for beast, neither was there any peace to him that went out or came in, because of the affliction; for I set all men every one against his neighbour*†. Job, amongst his other distresses, complains to God;—*Thou scarest me with dreams, and terrifiest me with visions*‡: this, I suppose, refers to the comminations of Haggai, Zechariah, and Malachi, who all prophesied at this time, and were very troublesome on that account to the impatient Jews, to whose circumstances only, and spirit of complaint, these obscure words of Job, expostulating with GOD, can agree;—*and why dost thou not pardon my transgression, and take away mine iniquity? For now I shall sleep in the dust, and thou shalt seek me in the morning, but I shall not be*§. There is not a more difficult passage in the whole book of Job; and yet, on the principles here laid down, it admits and conveys this natural and easy meaning, "In thus punishing, thou wilt defeat thy own design. It is thy purpose to continue us a peculiar People; yet such traverses as we have met with, on our return, will soon destroy those already come into Judea, and deter the rest from hazarding the same fortune." Job goes on in the same strain: *Is it good unto thee that thou shouldest oppress? that thou shouldest despise the work of thine hands? and shine upon the counsel of the wicked*‖? The Jews of this time made this very complaint. *I have loved you, saith the Lord, yet ye say, Wherein hast thou loved us*¶? And again, *And*

* Ezra iii. 3. † Zech. viii. 10. ‡ Ch. vii. ver. 14.
§ Ch. vii. ver. 21. ‖ Ch. x. ver. 3. ¶ Mal. i. 2.

*now we call the proud happy; yea they that work wickedness are set up; yea they that tempt God are even delivered**.—But Job goes on.—*O that thou wouldest hide me in the* GRAVE, *that thou wouldest keep me secret, until thy wrath be past; that thou wouldest appoint me a set time, and remember me* †. By which words, the complaints of the Jews of that time are again referred to; which were, as appears from the words of Job, to this effect: "Would to GOD we had still continued in Captivity [the *Grave*, which was the very figure used by the Prophets for the Captivity] expecting a more favourable season for our Restoration; or that we might be permitted to return unto it, till the remains of punishment for our forefathers' sins are overpast, and all things fitly prepared for our reception." And in these cowardly and impatient sentiments were they, on their Return, as were their Ancestors, on their first coming out of the land of Egypt; to which, this Return is frequently compared by the Prophets.—Job goes on expressing his condition in this manner: *His troops come together, and raise up their way against me, and encamp round about my tabernacle. He hath put my brethren far from me, and mine acquaintance are verily estranged from me. My kinsfolk have failed, and my familiar friends have forgotten me*‡. The first part of this complaint evidently relates to the *Arabians, the Ammonites, and the Ashdodites*; who (as Nehemiah tells us) *hearing that the walls of Jerusalem were made up, and that the breaches began to be stopped, were very wroth, and conspired all of them together to come and fight against Jerusalem and to hinder it* §. The second part relates to their rich Brethren remaining in

* Malac. iii. 15. † Chap xiv. ver. 13.

‡ Chap xix. ver. 12, 13, 14. § Nehemiah iv. 7, 8.

Babylon,

Babylon, who seemed, by Nehemiah's account, to have much neglected the distressed Remnant that escaped from the Captivity to Jerusalem. *Then Hanani* (says he) *one of my brethren came, he and certain men of Judah, and I asked them concerning the Jews that had escaped, which were left of the Captivity, and concerning Jerusalem. And they said unto me, The Remnant that are left of the Captivity there in the Province are in great affliction and reproach: the wall of Jerusalem is also broken down, and the gates thereof are burnt with fire* *.—Job goes on, *O that I knew where I might find him* [God], *that I might come even to his seat. Behold I go forward, but he is not there; and backward, but I cannot perceive him: on the left hand where he doth work, but I cannot behold him: he hideth himself on the right hand, that I cannot see him* †. Could any thing more pathetically express the lamentations of a People who saw the extraordinary Providence, under which they had so long lived, departing from them?—From God, Job turns to Man, and says, "But now they that are younger than I have "me in derision, whose fathers I would have disdained "to have set with the dogs of my flock. Yea, whereto "might the strength of their hands profit me, in whom "old age was perished? For want and famine they "were solitary; fleeing into the Wilderness in former "time desolate and waste: who cut up mallows by "the bushes, and juniper-roots for their meat. "They were driven forth from among men (they cried "after them as after a thief) to dwell in the clifts of "the valleys, in the caves of the earth, and in the "rocks. Amongst the bushes they brayed, under "the nettles they were gathered together. They were "Children of *fools*, yea Children of *base* men: they

* Nehem. i. 2, 3. † Chap. xxiii. ver. 3. 8, 9.

"were

" were *viler* than the earth *." This is a description, and a very exact one, of the *Cutheans* or *Samaritans*; of their behaviour to the Jews; and the sentiments of the Jews concerning them. These *had him in derision*, he says, and so Nehemiah informs us: " But it came " to pass, that when *Sanballot* heard that we builded " the wall, he was wroth, and took great indignation, " and *mocked the Jews*. And he spake before his " brethren and the army of Samaria, and said: What " do these feeble Jews? will they fortify themselves? " will they sacrifice? will they make an end in a day? " will they revive the stones out of the heaps of the " rubbish, which are burnt? Now *Tobiah* the Ammo- " nite was by him, and he said, Even that which they " build, if a fox go up, he shall even break down their " stone wall. Hear, O our GOD, for we are *despised*, " and turn their *reproach* upon their own head†." And GOD, by the Prophet Malachi, tells the Jews the reason why he suffered them to be thus humbled: *Therefore have I also made you contemptible and base before all the people, according as ye have not kept my ways, but have been partial in the Law*‡.—Job says he would *have disdained to have set these with the dogs of his flock, that they were younger than him, that they were children of fools, yea of base men, viler than the earth*. It is well known in what sovereign contempt the Jews held the Cutheans or Samaritans above all People. The character here given of the baseness of their Extraction, without doubt, was very just. For when a Conqueror, as here the king of Assyria, would repeople, with his own subjects, a strange country entirely ravaged and burnt up by an exterminating war, none but the very scum of a People would be sent upon such an errand. And by the account Ezra gives

* Ch. xxx. ver. 1, & seq. † Neh. iv. 1, & seq. ‡ Mal. ii. 9.

us of this Colony, as gathered out of many parts of the Assyrian Empire, we may fairly conclude them to be the offscourings of the East. "Then wrote Rehum "the chancellor, and Shimshai the scribe, and the "rest of their companions, the *Dinaites*, the *Apharsathchites*, the *Tarpelites*, the *Apharsites*, the *Archevites*, the *Babylonians*, the *Susanchites*, the *Dehavites*, "and the *Elamites*, and the rest of the Nations whom "the great and noble Asnapper brought over and set "in the cities of Samaria *."—Job describes them as being at first reduced to the utmost distresses for food and harbour, in *a desolate and waste wilderness*, living upon *roots*, and dwelling in *caves* and *clifts of the rock:* and assuredly such must have been the first entertainment of this wretched Colony, transplanted into a Country entirely wasted and destroyed by a three years incessant ravage †. Nay, before they could come up to take possession of their *desolate places*, the wild beasts of the field were got before them, and a scourge of Lions prepared to receive them for their idolatrous pollutions of the holy Land ‡.

Job has now ended his *Parable*; and GOD is brought in to judge the Disputants; whose speech opens in this manner: *Then the Lord answered Job out of the whirlwind, and said, Who is this that darkeneth counsel by words without knowledge* §? The character which God here gives of Job is that which the Prophets give of the People of this time. *Ye have wearied the Lord with your words* ‖, says Malachi. And again: *Your words have been stout against me, saith the Lord* ¶. But on Job's repeated submission and humiliation, GOD at length declares his acceptance of him. And thus he received the People

* Ezra iv. 9, 10. † 2 Kings xvii. 5. ‡ Id. ib.
§ Chap. xxxviii. ver. 1, 2. ‖ Mal. ii. 17. ¶ Mal. iii. 13.

into grace, as we learn by the Prophet Zechariah:—*Thus saith the Lord, I am returned unto Zion, and will dwell in the midst of Jerusalem**. It is added, *Also the Lord gave Job* TWICE *as much as he had before*†: and in the same manner GOD speaks to the People by the Prophet: *Turn ye to the strong-hold, ye prisoners of hope, even to-day do I declare that I will render* DOUBLE *unto thee*‡.—Job's brethren now came to comfort him, and *every man gave him a piece of money, and every one an ear-ring of gold*§. This, without question, alludes to the presents which Ezra tells us the Jews of Babylon made to their brethren in Judea: *And all they that were about them strengthened their hands with vessels of silver, with gold, with goods, and with beasts, and with precious things, besides all that was willingly offered*‖.—The history adds, *So the Lord blessed the latter end of Job more than the beginning*¶: and thus the future prosperity of the People was predicted by the Prophets of this time: *The glory of this latter house shall be greater than the former, saith the Lord of Hosts: And in this place will I give peace, saith the Lord of Hosts***. *For I, saith the Lord, will be unto her a wall of fire round about, and will be the glory in the midst of her*††.—The Book concludes with these words: *After this lived Job an hundred and forty years, and saw his sons, and his sons sons, even four generations. So Job died being old and full of days*‡‡: this too was the specific blessing promised by GOD to the People, in the Prophet Zechariah: *Thus saith the Lord of Hosts, There shall yet old men and old women dwell in the*

* Zech. viii. 3. † Ch. xlii. ver. 10. ‡ Zech. ix. 12.
§ Ch. xlii. ver. 11. ‖ Ezra. i. 6. ¶ Ch. xlii. ver. 12.
** Haggai ii. 10. †† Zech. ii. 5. ‡‡ Ch. xlii. ver. 16, 17.

streets

*streets of Jerusalem, and every man with his staff in his hand for very age. And the streets of the city shall be full of boys and girls playing in the streets thereof**.

II. The next Person in the drama is Job's WIFE. Let us take her, as she is presented to us, on the common footing. She acts a short part indeed, but a very spirited one. *Then said his wife unto him, Dost thou still retain thine integrity? Curse God, and die*†. Tender and pious! He might see, by this prelude of his Spouse, what he was to expect from his Friends. The Devil indeed assaulted Job, but he seems to have got possession of his Wife. Happiness was so little to be expected with such a Woman, that one almost wonders, that the sacred Writer, when he aims to give us the highest idea of Job's succeeding felicity, did not tell us, in express words, that he lived to bury his Wife. In these modern ages of luxury and polished manners, a Character like this is so little of a prodigy, that both the learned and unlearned are accustomed to read it without much reflection: But such a Woman in the age of Job had been thought to need a Lustration. In the history of the Patriarchs, we have a large account of their Wives; but these are all examples of piety, tenderness, and obedience; the natural growth of old simplicity of manners. Something lower down, indeed, we find a *Delilah*; but she was of the *uncircumcised*, a pure Pagan; as, on examination, I believe, this Wife of Job will prove: another very extraordinary circumstance in her Character. For the Patriarchs either took care to marry Believers, or, if haply idolaters, to instruct them in the true Religion; as we may see by the history of Jacob.—*Then said his wife unto him, Dost thou still*

* Zech. viii. 4, 5. † Chap. ii. ver. 9.

retain thine INTEGRITY? THUMMAH, *perfectio*, that is, *Religion*. This was altogether in the Pagan mode; Idolaters, as we find in ancient story, generally growing atheistical under calamities *.—*Curse God*, BARECH, *benedicmaledic:* here rightly † translated *curse*. So the *Syr.* and *Arab.* versions, *Conviciare Deo tuo*. This was another Pagan practice, when they had implored or bribed the Gods to no purpose. Thucydides affords us a terrible instance: When the Athenians in the height of their prosperity went upon the Syracusian Expedition, the Fleet set sail amidst the prayers and hymns of the Adventurers: but on its unhappy issue, these very men, on the point of their fatal dispersion, prosecuted the same Gods with the direst curses and imprecations ‡.—*Curse God, and* DIE; that is, offer violence to yourself. Another impiety of Paganism; which, under irretrievable misfortunes, deemed suicide not only just but laudable. A crime much abhorred by the Hebrews, as forbidden by their Law; till, in after-times, they became corrupted by Gentile manners. All this shews the woman to have been a rank idolater. But Job's reply seems to put this suspicion out of doubt: *Thou speakest as one of the* FOOLISH WOMEN *speaketh. What? Shall we receive good at the hand of God, and shall we not receive evil* §*? A* FOOLISH WOMAN is a Hebrew phrase to signify a *foreign woman*, an *Idolater*, a *Prostitute*; for these qualifications were always joined together in their ideas. On this account the *Chald. Paraph.* explains it, *Sicut una de mulieribus quæ operantur ignominiam in domo patris sui*. So David, speaking

* See note [X] at the end of this volume.

† See note [Y] at the end of this volume.

‡ — ἀνὶ δ' εὐχῆς τε καὶ παιάνων, μεθ' ὧν ἐξέπλεον, πάλιν τάντων τοῖς ἐναντίοις ἐπιφημίσμασιν ἀφορμᾶσθαι. Lib. vii. § 75. Ed. Hud.

§ Chap. ii. ver. 10.

speaking of the condition of the Pagan world, says, *The* FOOL *hath said in his heart* *, i.e. the PAGAN; and in the character Job gives of the *Cutheans*, quoted above, he calls them *Children of* FOOLS †; that is, of Gentile extraction, as indeed they were. Now can we suppose that Job would marry an Infidel, in a country which abounded with true believers? *Job*, who thought idolatry *a crime to be punished by the Judge?* These are difficulties not to be gotten over on the received idea of this book; and appeared so great to Cocceius and Schultens, the two most elaborate of Job's Commentators, that they are for glossing the kind Woman's words into an innocent or excusable sense; though her Husband's reply so unavoidably confines them to a bad one: *Thou speakest* (says he) *as one of the foolish women speaketh. What? Shall we receive good at the hand of God, and shall we not receive evil?* Besides, they did not consider that *Satan* had, as it were, engaged that Job should *curse God to his face* ‡; which impiety he was here endeavouring to bring about by his agent, the Woman. But now, on our interpretation, it will be found that this character was introduced with exquisite art and contrivance. We have observed, that this *Remnant of the Captivity* returned into their own country with hearts full of zeal for the Law. Yet, with this general good disposition, there was one folly they were still infected with, and that was the taking *strange wives* of the idolatrous nations round about; which, amongst other, had this terrible inconvenience, that the children, who in their tender years are principally under the care of the mother, would be early tainted with Pagan principles: a mischief so general, that Hosea calls the children of

* Psal. xiv. 1. liii. 1. † Chap. xxx. ver. 8.

‡ Chap. ii. ver. 5.

such marriages, *strange children**, i. e. *idolatrous*. This soon become a crying enormity. Their Prophets awaked them with the thunder of divine menaces; and their Rulers improved their penitence to a thorough reformation. *Judah* (saith the Prophet Malachi) *hath dealt treacherously, and an abomination is committed in Israel and in Jerusalem: For Judah hath profaned the holiness of the Lord which he loved, and hath married the daughter of a strange god. The Lord will cut off the man that doth this* †. Nehemiah informs us of his zeal against this offence: *In those days also saw I Jews that had married wives of Ashdod, of Ammon, and of Moab: And I contended with them, and cursed them, and smote certain of them, and pluckt off their hair, and made them swear by God, saying, Ye shall not give your daughters unto their sons nor take their daughters unto your sons, or for yourselves* ‡. But Ezra gives us a very circumstantial account of the Crime and of the Reformation: *Now when these things were done, the Princes came to me, saying, The People of Israel, and the Priests, and the Levites, have not separated themselves from the people of the lands, doing according to their abominations: for they have taken of their daughters for themselves and for their sons; so that the holy seed have mingled themselves with the people of those lands: Yea, the hand of the Princes and Rulers hath been chief in this trespass* §. Shechaniah then encourages Ezra to reform this abuse ‖. Ezra assembles the people ¶: they promise amendment; and propose a method of Inquiry: *Let now our Rulers of all the congregation stand, and let all them which have taken strange wives in our cities, come at appointed times,*

* Chap. v. ver. 7. † Mal. ii. 11, 12. ‡ Nehem. xiii. 23, 25.
§ Ezra ix. 1, 2. ‖ Chap. x. ver. 2. ¶ Ver. 7.

and

and with them the Elders of every city, and the Judges thereof *. Ezra approved of this method, *And they set down in the first day of the tenth month to examine the matter. And they made an end with all the men that had taken strange wives by the first day of the first month* †. The state and condition of a weak and thin Colony, 'tis probable, encouraged them in this transgression: yet, as it was so expressly against the LAW, they were altogether without excuse: And indeed, the prohibition was an admirable expedient against idolatry; *strange wives* inevitably drawing the wisest, as it did Solomon himself, into foreign idolatries. On this account the Prophet quoted above, finely calls them *the daughters of a* STRANGE God. Jeremiah gives us a remarkable instance of their influence over their husbands in his time: *Then all the men which knew that their wives had burnt incense unto other Gods, and all the women that stood by, a great multitude, even all the people that dwelt in the land of Egypt, in Pathros, answered Jeremiah, saying, As for the word that thou hast spoken unto us in the name of the Lord, we will not hearken unto thee* ‡. And Nehemiah had good reason to tell these Transgressors,—*Did not Solomon king of Israel sin by these things? Yet among many nations was there no king like him, who was beloved of his God, and God made him King over all Israel: Nevertheless even him did outlandish women cause to sin* §. For Ezra expressly assures us, that those who had taken *strange* women were drawn into *the abominations of the people of the lands* ‖.

The sacred Writer, therefore, who composed his work for the use of these People represented under the person of Job, could not better characterize their

* Ver. 14. † Chap. x. ver. 16, 17.
‡ Jer. xliv. 15. § Neh. xiii. 26. ‖ Ezra ix. 1.

manners, nor give them a more useful lesson, than by making Job's wife, the author of such wicked counsel, a *Heathen*. It was indeed the principal study of their Rulers to deter them from these marriages, and to recommend the *daughters of Israel*; of whom the Prophet *Malachi* thus speaks: *Because the Lord hath been witness between thee and the wife of thy youth, against whom thou hast dealt treacherously: yet is she thy companion, and the wife of thy covenant**. This will help us to clear up a difficulty, in the conclusion of the book, which very much perplexes the Commentators: (where, let it be observed, his *misfortunes* are called his CAPTIVITY †; which figure, of the species for the genus, could hardly be of use in the Jewish language till after their repeated punishments by *Captivities.*) *So the Lord blessed the latter end of Job.—He had also seven sons and three* DAUGHTERS. *And he called the name of the first* Jemima, *and the name of the second* Kezia, *and the name of the third* Keren-happuch. *And in all the land were no women found so fair as the daughters of Job, and their father gave them inheritance among their brethren* ‡. *Albert Schultens* says §, "Men are wont to ask why the "names of Job's sons are suppressed, and the names "of his daughters only mentioned. The Ancients "have

* Mal. ii. 14. And see note [Z] at the end of this volume.

† Chap. xlii. ver. 10.

‡ Chap. xliii. ver. 12, & seq.

§ "Cur suppressis filiorum nominibus, filiarum illa apposita "sint, quæri solet. Ad *mysterium* confugiunt veteres, mire "ludentes in etymis *Jemimæ*, *Ketziæ*, & *Keren-happuchæ*, sive "*Dianæ* vel *Diei*, *Cassiæ*, & *Cornu stibii*, ut vulgato hæc convenire "visum. In his inveniunt totidem characteres *Ecclesiæ*, quæ cum "splendore lucis conjungat odorem fragrantissimum virtutis, ut "tota pulchra sponso suo sistatur, &c. &c. Alii symbolicas has "faciunt appellationes, quibus familiæ suæ redivivam lucem, "famam, gloriam repræsentatam voluerit fortunatissimus pater."

" have recourse to mystery in this case, and trifle " strangely with the etymoligies of *Jemima*, *Kezia*, " and *Keren-happuch:* which are commonly supposed " to signify Diana or the day, Cassia, and the horn " of antimony. In these, they find just so many " characters of the Church; which to the splendour " of truth, joins the odour of virtue, that she may " stand a perfect beauty in presence of her spouse, " &c. &c. Others make them symbolical appellations, " by which the happy father would represent the for- " mer splendour, fame and glory of his family returned " again unto it." And Mr. Le Clerc on the same place *;—" If it is asked why the names of the " daughters are recorded, and not the sons: Of this, " no reason can be given, unless, perhaps, the daugh- " ters were more illustrious. These names are urged " as a certain proof of its being a true history. But " who can say how far the oriental writers were wont " to go, in dressing out their Parables? In a " Gospel parable we find the name of Lazarus; which " does not on that account hinder us from considering " the story as of that class. However, we think it " best to leave the matter just as we found it." But now all this difficulty is removed, and the passage is seen in its full force and beauty. It was the writer's design to recommend the *daughters of Israel* as the most desirable Parties, [*And in all the land were no women found so fair as the daughters of Job*;] and to commemorate the reformation now made amongst the

* *Quæritur cur sint filiarum nomina memorata, non filiorum; cujus rei ratio reddi non potest, nisi fortè illustriores fuerint filiæ. Hæc nomina proferuntur, ut argumentum certum, quo constet hanc veram esse historiam. Sed quis dicat quò usque Orientales parabolas ornare solebant? In parabola Evangelica est quidem nomen* Lazari, *quod non obstat quo minus Parabola habeatur. Verum rem in medio relinquimus.*

people,

people, when they put away their *strange wives*, and took an oath to share the holy inheritance, for the future, only with the *daughters of Israel.—And their father gave them inheritance amongst their brethren:* words that have been as troublesome to the Commentators as the rest; and have occasioned many a learned Dissertation *de Jure Successionis apud Hebræos, Arabas, Græcos, Latinos, & quamplurimas Gentes.*

III. We come next to Job's THREE FRIENDS.—Their solemn appointment to go and comfort Job; the neglect of their errand when they came thither; their inhumanity and strange humour of contradiction; have been already taken notice of, and explained, and reconciled to decorum, on the nature and principles of a *dramatic* composition. But this is not all: We find, on the issue of their debate, so many marks of insult, falsehood, and malice, that we must needs conclude their Friendship to have been all pretence; that they were enemies in their hearts; and that the true purpose of their visit was to imbitter and aggravate his miseries. This requires other principles to explain it: for, in the *historical* part they are represented as *real* friends: and this makes such a difficulty as nothing but our idea of the work can remove. Who then will doubt but that, as the PEOPLE were represented under Job, these *three friends* were their three capital Enemies, who so greatly hindered and obstructed the rebuilding Jerusalem and the temple, SANBALLAT, TOBIAH, and GESHEM? Of whom Nehemiah gives us this account: *Then I came to the governors beyond the river, and gave them the king's letters. When* Sanballat *the Horonite, and* Tobiah *the servant the Ammonite, heard of it, it grieved them exceedingly that there was come a man to seek the welfare of the*

*children of Israel**. And again: *But it came to pass that when* Sanballat, *and* Tobiah, *and the Arabians, and the Ammonites, and the Ashdodites heard that the walls of Jerusalem were made up, and that the breaches began to be stopped, then they were very wroth, and conspired all of them together, to come and to fight against Jerusalem and to hinder it*†. When force would not do, they assayed fraud: *Now it came to pass, when* SANBALLAT, *and* TOBIAH, *and* GESHEM *the Arabian, and the rest of our enemies, heard that I had builded the wall, and that there was no breach left therein, then* Sanballat *and* Geshem *sent unto me, saying, Come, let us meet together in some one of the villages in the plain of Ono: but they thought to do me mischief*‡. The Writer of the book of *Tobit* seems to have had this idea of the three friends, where he says, *Nam sicut beato Job insultabant Reges, ita isti parentes & cognati ejus irridebant vitam ejus*§. But we are to observe this is now only to be found in the Latin translation, which, St. Jerome tells us, he made from the Chaldee. But, what is still of more moment, is a paragraph at the end of the Septuagint translation of the book of Job, which makes of these three friends, two Kings and a Tyrant.

The marks of resemblance between the *allegorical* and *real* persons, are many and strong.

Eliphaz, *Bildad*, and *Zophar*, are delivered as the allies and friends of Job: So *Sanballat* the Horonite had given his daughter to one of the sons of Joiada the son of Eliashib the high priest‖: And *Tobiah* had made two alliances with the Jews: his son Johanan had married the daughter of Meshullam the son of Berechiah; and he himself had taken to wife the daughter of Shechaniah the son of Arah¶.

* Nehem. ii. 9, 10. † Ch. iv. ver. 7, 8. ‡ Ch. vi. ver. 1, 2.
§ Tob. ii. 14. ‖ Nehem. xiii. 28. ¶ Neh. vi. 18.

Eliphaz,

Eliphaz, *Bildad*, and *Zophar*, came in a friendly manner with offers of service and assistance: So did these enemies of the Jews, as we are informed both by Ezra and Nehemiah: "Now when the ADVERSARIES "of Judah and Benjamin heard that the children of "the captivity builded the temple unto the Lord God "of Israel: Then they came to Zerubbabel, and to "the chief of the fathers, and said unto them, LET "US BUILD WITH YOU. But Zerubbabel and Jeshua "and the rest of the chief of the fathers of Israel, "said unto them, You have nothing to do with us to "build a house unto our God, but we ourselves will "build unto the Lord God of Israel, as king Cyrus "the king of Persia hath commanded us *." And Nehemiah's answer to *Sanballat*, *Tobiah*, and *Geshem*, shews, they had made this request:—"then answered "I them, and said unto them, The God of Heaven "he will prosper us; therefore we his servants will "arise and build, *but you have no portion, nor right*, "*nor memorial in Jerusalem* †." And of *Tobiah* in particular, he says: *Moreover in these days the nobles of Judah sent many letters unto* Tobiah: *and the letters of* Tobiah *came unto them. Also they reported his good deeds before me, and uttered my words to him. And* Tobiah *sent letters to put me in fear* ‡.

The *three Friends of* JOB were worshippers of the true God; and so were these *Adversaries* of the JEWS: For when, in the place quoted above, they asked to *build with* the Jews, they give this reason of their request: FOR WE SEEK YOUR GOD *as ye do, and we do sacrifice unto him since the days of Eserhaddon king of Assur, which brought us up hither* §.

The *three Friends* were perpetually deriding and upbraiding him for his sins: And of this Job frequently

* Ezra iv. 1, 2, 3.
† Neh. ii. 20.
‡ Neh. vi. 17, 19.
§ Ezra iv. 2.

complains

complains in the course of the disputation *. So Nehemiah tells us, that *when* Sanballat *the Horonite, and* Tobiah *the servant, the Ammonite, and* Geshem *the Arabian, heard that they were set upon building the walls of Jerusalem, they laughed them to scorn, and despised them, and said, What is this thing that ye do? Will ye rebel against the king* †? And again: *But it came to pass that when* Sanballat *heard that we builded the wall, he was wroth, and took great indignation, and mocked the Jews. Now* Tobiah *the Ammonite was by him, and he said, Even that which they build, if a fox go up, he shall even break down their stone wall* ‡. God, by the Prophet Malachi, tells them, *Judah hath profaned the holiness of the Lord which he loved, and hath married the daughter of a strange God* §. And it is remarkable that they with whom the Jews had committed this crime, as *Sanballat*, *Tobiah*, and *the Cutheans*, were made the instruments of their punishment. Eliphaz the Temanite charges and upbraids Job with the most flagitious crimes: *Is not thy wickedness great, and thine iniquities infinite* ‖? And thus the Cuthean represented the Jews, to Artaxerxes: "Be it known "unto the king, that the Jews, which came up from "thee to us, are come unto Jerusalem, building the "rebellious and the bad city, and have set up the "walls thereof.—Therefore have we certified the king "that search may be made in the book of the records "of thy fathers, so shalt thou find in the book of the "records, and know, that this city is a rebellious city, "and hurtful unto kings and provinces; and that

* Chap. iv. 17. Ch. xii. ver. 4. Ch. xiii. ver. 4. Ch. xvi. ver. 1, 20. Ch. xvii. ver. 2. Ch. xix. ver. 2. Ch. xxi. ver. 3. Chap. xxvi. ver. 4.

† Neh. ii. 19.

‡ Ch. iv. ver. 1, 3.

§ Mal. ii. 11.

‖ Ch. xxii. ver. 5.

"they

" they have moved sedition within the fame of old " time; for which cause was this city destroyed *."— If their Adversaries could accuse them thus unjustly, we are not to think they would spare them where there was more ground for condemnation. When Nehemiah came to the administration of affairs, the Rich had oppressed the Poor by a rigorous exaction of their debts: *And there was a great cry of the people and of their wives, against their brethren the Jews. For there were that said, We, our sons, and our daughters, are many: therefore we take up corn for them, that we may eat and live. Some also there were that said, We have mortgaged our lands, vineyards, and houses, that we may buy corn because of the dearth. There were also that said, We have borrowed money for the king's tribute, and that upon our lands and vineyards. Yet now our flesh is as the flesh of our brethren, our children as their children: and lo we bring into bondage our sons and our daughters to be servants, and some of our daughters are brought into bondage already, neither is it in our power to redeem them; for other men have our lands and vineyards* †. This abuse Nehemiah reformed: and in reproving the oppressors, he said, *It is not good that ye do: Ought ye not to walk in the fear of our Lord, because of the* REPROACH OF THE HEATHEN OUR ENEMIES ‡? which *reproach* was intended to be represented in these words of Eliphaz: *For thou hast taken a pledge from thy brother for nought, and stripped the naked of their clothing* §.

But the *three Friends* are at length condemned by GOD himself: *The Lord said to Eliphaz the Temanite, My wrath is kindled against thee, and against the two friends; For ye have not spoken of me the thing that*

* Ezra iv. 12. 14, 15.
† Neh. v. 1, & seq.
‡ Ver. 9.
§ Chap. xxii. ver. 6.

is

is right, as my servant Job hath *. And in the same manner he speaks, by the Prophet, concerning these *Adversaries* of the Jews: *And I am very sore displeased with the Heathen that are* AT EASE; *For I was but a* LITTLE DISPLEASED, *and they* HELPED FORWARD THE AFFLICTION †.—His sentence against the three Friends goes on in these words: *Therefore take now unto you seven bullocks and seven rams, and go to my servant Job, and offer up yourselves a burnt-offering, and my servant Job shall pray for you, for him will I accept: Lest I deal with you after your folly, in that ye have not spoken of me the thing which is right, like my servant Job* ‡. This, I suppose, is designed to represent the defeat of their *Adversaries*, in the decree which the Jews, by the good providence of GOD, procured from Darius, commanding the *Cutheans* (who had hitherto so much hindered) now to assist the Jews to the utmost of their power in rebuilding the Temple: "Then Darius the king made "a decree—Now therefore Tatnai, Governor beyond "the river Shetharboznai, and your companions the "Apharsachites, which are beyond the river, be ye "far from thence: Let the work of this house of God "alone, let the governor of the Jews, and the elders "of the Jews, build this house of God in his place. "Moreover I make a decree, what ye shall do to the "elders of these Jews, for the building of this house "of God: that, of the king's goods, even of the tri-"bute beyond the river, forthwith expences be given "unto these men, that they be not hindered. And "that which they have need of, both young bullocks "and rams, and lambs, for the BURNT-OFFERINGS "of the God of heaven, wheat, salt, wine, and oil, "according to the appointment of the priests which

* Ch. xlii. ver. 7. † Zech. i. 15. ‡ Ch. xlii. ver. 8.

"are

" are at Jerusalem, let it be given them day by day " without fail; that they may offer sacrifices of sweet " savours unto the God of heaven, and pray FOR THE " LIFE OF THE KING AND OF HIS SONS*."

The reason why the *three Friends* are condemned as *not having spoken of God the thing that was right*, was, 1. Because using the argument of an *equal Providence* only to condemn Job with the heart of an enemy, they made the honour of God a stale to their malignant purposes. To understand this more fully, we must consider that the great contest was concerning an *equal Providence:* What occasioned it was their suspicion of Job's secret iniquity; consequently these two points take their turns occasionally in the course of the disputation. Job, after many struggles, at last gave up the general question; but the particular one of his own righteousness, he adheres to, throughout, and makes it the subject of all he says from chap. xxvii. to chap. xxxi. This ended the dispute: for, in the beginning of the next chapter†, the writer tells us,— *So these three men ceased to answer Job, because he was righteous in his own eyes*; that is, they gave Job this contemptuous reason why they would argue no longer with him. By this we may see, how finely the dispute was conducted, to answer, what I suppose was, the end of writing the book. JOB, who represented the PEOPLE, was to speak their sentiments concerning their doubts of an equal Providence; but he was at last to acquiesce, to teach them a lesson of obedience and submission.

2. The second reason of the condemnation of these false *Friends* was, because they had supported their condemnation of Job by a pretended Revelation.— *Now a thing was secretly brought to me* (says Eliphaz)

* Ezra vi. 1. 6, & seq. † Chap. xxxii.

and

and mine ear received a little thereof. In thoughts from the visions of the night, when deep sleep falleth on men, fear came upon me, and trembling, which made all my bones to shake: then a Spirit passed before my face, the hair of my flesh stood up: I stood still, but I could not discern the form thereof: an image was before mine eyes, there was silence, and I heard a voice saying, "Shall mortal man be more just than God," *&c* *. This was the character, and conduct, of the enemies of the Republic, as the Prophet Ezekiel informs us; whose words are so very apposite, that we may well think they were the original to those above in the fourth chapter of Job. *Thus saith the Lord God, Wo unto the foolish Prophets that follow their own spirit and have seen nothing—They have seen vanity and lying divination, saying, The Lord saith; and the Lord hath not sent them.—Have ye not seen a vain vision, and have ye not spoken a lying divination, whereas ye say, The Lord saith it, albeit I have not spoken? Therefore thus saith the Lord God, Because ye have spoken vanity and seen lies, therefore behold I am against you, saith the Lord God* †.

IV. The last Person in the Opposition is the Devil himself, SATAN, the Author and Contriver of all the mischief. And now we are come to that part of the *Allegory*, where the fable and the moral meet, and, as it were, concur to throw off the Mask, and expose the true face of the Subject; this assault upon JOB being that very attack which, the Prophet Zechariah tells us, Satan made, at this time, on the PEOPLE. The only difference is, that, in this Poem, it is *Job*; in that Prophecy, it is *Joshua the high priest*, who stands for the *People*. In all the rest, the identity is so strongly marked, that this single circumstance alone

* Chap. iv. ver. 12, & seq. † Ezek. xiii. 3, & seq.

is sufficient to confirm the truth of our whole interpretation. There needs only setting the two passages together to convince the most Prejudiced:—The Historian says, "Now there was a day when the sons of "God came to present themselves before the Lord, "and SATAN came also among them. And the "Lord said unto Satan, Whence comest thou? Then "Satan answered the Lord, and said, From going to "and fro in the earth, and from walking up and down "in it. And the Lord said unto Satan, Hast thou "considered my servant JOB, that there is none like "him in the earth, a perfect and an upright man, one "that feareth God, and escheweth evil? Then Satan "answered the Lord, and said, Doth Job fear God "for nought? But put forth thine hand now, and "touch all that he hath, and he will curse thee to thy "face. And the Lord said unto Satan, Behold, all "that he hath is in thy power; only upon himself put "not forth thine hand. So Satan went forth from "the presence of the Lord*."—The Prophet's account is in these words: "Be silent, O all flesh, before "the Lord: for he is raised up out of his holy habi-"tation. And he shewed me JOSHUA the high priest, "standing before the angel of the Lord, and SATAN "standing at his right hand to resist him. And the "Lord said unto Satan, The Lord rebuke thee, O "Satan; even the Lord that hath chosen Jerusalem, "rebuke thee: Is not this a brand pluckt out of the "fire? Now *Joshua was clothed with filthy garments*, "and stood before the angel. And he answered and "spake unto those that stood before him, saying, "*Take away* the filthy garments from him. And "unto him he said, Behold, I have *caused thine ini-"quity to pass from thee*, and I will clothe thee with

* Chap. i. ver. 6, & seq.

"change

" change of Raiment. And I said, Let them set a " fair mitre upon his head; so they set a fair mitre " upon his head, and clothed him with garments. And " *the angel of the Lord stood by**." JOB's whole dramatic life lies here in its stamina.—*Satan standing at the angel's right hand to resist Joshua* is, (when drawn out more at length) his persecution of Job—*Joshua clothed with filthy garments*, is Job amidst the Ashes—The *clothing of Joshua with change of raiment, and setting a fair mitre on his head*, is Job's returning Prosperity—And *the angel of the Lord standing by*, is GOD's Interposition from the Whirlwind.

But we have not yet done with this Character. The finding SATAN in the scene is a strong proof that the Work was composed in the age we have assigned to it. This evil Being was little known to the Jewish People till about this time. Their great Lawgiver, where he so frequently enumerates, and warns them of, the snares and temptations which would draw them to transgress the Law of GOD, never once mentions this Capital enemy of Heaven; yet this was an expedient which the wisest Pagan Lawgivers † thought of use, to keep the Populace in the ways of virtue. Thus Zaleucus, in the preface to his book of Laws, speaks of *an evil* DEMON *tempting men to mischief*: And in the popular Religion there was always a FURY at hand, to pursue the more atrocious Offenders through the world. Nay, when the end of that sacred History which Moses composed, obliged him to treat of *Satan*'s first grand machination against mankind, he entirely hides this wicked Spirit under the Animal which he made his instrument. (The reason of this wise conduct hath been in part explained already, and

* Zech. ii. 13. Chap. iii. ver. 1, & seq.

† See Divine Legation, vol. i. pp. 339, & seq.

will be more exactly treated in the course of our general argument*.) But, as the fulness of time drew near, they were made more and more acquainted with this their capital Enemy. When Ahab, for the crimes and follies of the People, was suffered to be infatuated, we have this account of the matter in the first book of Kings: *And Micaiah said, Hear thou therefore the word of the Lord: I saw the Lord sitting on his throne, and all the host of heaven standing by him, on his right hand, and on his left. And the Lord said, Who shall persuade Ahab, that he may go up and fall at Ramoth-Gilead? And one said on this manner, and another said on that manner. And there came forth a* SPIRIT, *and stood before the Lord, and said, I will persuade him. And the Lord said unto him, Wherewith? And he said, I will go forth, and I will be a lying spirit in the mouth of all his Prophets. And he said, Thou shalt persuade him, and prevail also: Go forth, and do so*†. SATAN is not here recorded by name; and so we must conclude that the People were yet to know little of his *history*: However, this undertaking sufficiently declared his *nature*. On the return from the Captivity, we find him better known; and things then are ascribed to him, as the immediate and proper Author, which (while divine Providence thought fit to keep back the knowledge of him) were before given, in an improper sense, to the first and ultimate Cause of all things. Thus, in the second book of Samuel, it is said, that GOD moved David to number the people,—*And again, the anger of the Lord was kindled against Israel, and he moved David against them to say, Go number Israel and Judah*‡. But in the first book of Chronicles, which was written after the Captivity,

* See note [AA] at the end of this volume.

† 1 Kings xxii. 19, & seq. ‡ 2 Sam. xxiv. 1.

Satan

Satan is said to have moved David to this folly. *And* Satan *stood up against Israel, and provoked David to number Israel**. For, His history having an inseparable connexion with the *Redemption* of Mankind, the knowledge of them was to be conveyed together: and now, their later Prophets had given less obscure descriptions of the REDEEMER and the other attendant truths.

Here let me stop a moment, though I anticipate my subject, to adore the visible splendour of the divine Wisdom, in this period of GOD's moral Dispensation: We have observed that the fulness of time approaching, the writings of the Prophets, after the Captivity, had given less obscure intimations of the *Redemption*; and that the Truths, which had a necessary connexion with it, were proportionably laid open. Two of the principal of these were the HISTORY OF SATAN and the DOCTRINE OF A FUTURE STATE; which, soon after this time, were conveyed to their knowledge. Now, besides the use of these two truths to the general Economy, they were of great advantage to the Jewish people at those very junctures when each was first made known unto them. The *history of Satan*, it is evident, they were brought acquainted with in their *Captivity*; and nothing could better secure them from the dangerous error of the TWO PRINCIPLES, which was part of the national Religion of the Country into which they were led captive. The *doctrine of a future state* they learnt some small time after their thorough *Re-establishment*; and this being at a time when their extraordinary Providence was departed from them, was of the highest advantage and support to them, as a Nation and a People. But this, as I say, is anticipating my subject, and will be explained

* 1 Chron. xxi. 1.

at large hereafter: The other is the point we are at present concerned with, namely, the knowledge of this wicked Spirit; and the security this knowledge afforded, against the error of the *two Principles:* Which leads us to another use the writer of the book of Job hath made of this *Personage* of the Drama.

We have observed, that the principal design of the Author of this work was to remove all errors, concerning the SUPREME CAUSE, from amongst a People now about to come under the *ordinary* Providence of Heaven, after having been long accustomed to the *extraordinary*. The common fault which the Ancients were prone to commit, on seeing good and bad happen indifferently to all men, was to bring in question the GOODNESS of their Maker. And they were apt to satisfy themselves in this difficulty, by another mistake as absurd as that was impious; the belief of TWO PRINCIPLES, a Good and an Evil. The Jews, of this time particularly, were most obnoxious to the danger, as coming from a place where this strange Doctrine made part of the public Religion. It was of the highest importance therefore to guard against both these errors. And this the sacred Writer hath effectually done, by shewing that SATAN, or the *evil Spirit* (whose history, misunderstood, or imperfectly told, in the first Ages of mankind, much favoured the notion of an *evil Principle*) was, like all other immaterial Beings, even of the highest rank, a creature of GOD; at enmity with him; but entirely in his power; and used by him as an instrument to punish wicked men; yet sometimes permitted to afflict the Good, for a trial of their patience, and to render their Faith and Virtue more perfect and conspicuous. Hence we see (which deserves our serious reflection) how useful it was to this purpose (what little light soever it gave to

the Question) to resolve all, when the dispute came to be moderated and determined, into the OMNIPOTENCE OF GOD, who is represented as the SOLE Creator and Governor of all things. And, what the Wisdom of the Holy Spirit directed the Writer of the book of Job to do, in this point, on their *coming* from the Land which held the belief of TWO PRINCIPLES, the same Wisdom directed Isaiah to do, on their going thither. This Prophet, in the person of God, addressing his speech to Cyrus, whom God had appointed to be the instrument of his People's Restoration, says: *I am the Lord, and there is none else, there is no God besides me: I girded thee, though thou hast not known me.*—I FORM THE LIGHT, AND CREATE DARKNESS: I MAKE PEACE, AND CREATE EVIL: *I the Lord do all these things**.

This declaration of God by Isaiah naturally leads us, ere we conclude this head, to consider another text of the book of Job, which confirms all that is here said of SATAN and the TWO PRINCIPLES; and, by consequence, the opinion here advanced, of the time in which the book was written. Job, speaking of the works of Creation and Providence, says, *He divided the* SEA *with his power, and his understanding smiteth through the* PROUD †. This evidently alludes to the miracle of the *Red-sea*, and the destruction of *Pharaoh*. From these works of Providence upon earth, the writer proceeds to speak of God's work of Creation above; both *material* and *intellectual.—By his Spirit he hath* GARNISHED *the heavens; his Hand hath formed the* CROOKED SERPENT ‡; i. e. He made the material and intellectual world; and in this latter, the *evil Being* himself, (that pretended Rival of his power, and Opposer of all his good) is equally the work of his

* Is. xlv. 5. 7. † Ch. xxvi. ver. 12. ‡ Ver. 13.

hands. The progression and connexions of the parts, contained in this whole period, are extremely beautiful. His work of Providence, as Lord of Nature upon earth, led properly to his work of Creation above, as the Maker and Governor of all things: and his chastisement of the proudest and most powerful Monarch then on earth, in his character of Governor of the Moral world, as naturally introduced the mention of his creating, and his keeping in subjection, the EVIL SPIRIT, in his character of the first Cause of all things. And, to connect these two relations together with the greater justness, the writer with much elegance calls the *evil Spirit* by that name wherewith the sacred Writers, and especially Isaiah, (whom we shall see presently the writer of the book of Job had particularly in his eye) denote the king of Egypt. *In that day the Lord, with his sore and great and strong sword, shall punish Leviathan the piercing serpent, even Leviathan that* CROOKED SERPENT, *and he shall slay the Dragon that is in the sea* *. Let us observe, that the Writer of the book of Job, in the last verse, evidently alludes to, or rather paraphrases those words of Isaiah quoted before—*I form the light, and create darkness: I make peace, and* CREATE EVIL: *I the Lord do all these things:* For what is this but *garnishing the Heavens*, and FORMING THE CROOKED SERPENT? But the relation and connexion between the 12th and 13th verses † not being observed, several eminent Commentators, both Jews and Christians, were inclined to understand the *crooked serpent* as signifying the great Constellation so named, situate near the arctic pole; or at least, that enormous trail of light called the Galaxy or Via lactea. And those Moderns who have been as backward to find a Devil for the tempter,

* Ch. xxvii. 1. † Job xxvi.

as

as a God for their Redeemer, thought it agreed best with their Socinian reasoning-scheme; the general mention of the *garniture of the Heavens*, being well followed by a particular description of one of its pieces of furniture. But whatever their force of logic may be, their taste of Rhetoric seems none of the best. It is a strange kind of amplification to say, "He made "all the constellations, and he made one of them." But that interpretation of Scripture which receives its chief strength from the rules of human eloquence, and art of composition, hath often but a slender support. I shall go on therefore to shew, that an Hebrew Writer (and he who, after all that has been said, will not allow the Author of the book of Job to be an Hebrew, may grant or deny what he pleases, for me) —to shew, I say, that *an Hebrew Writer*, by *the crooked Serpent* could not mean a *Constellation*.

The Rabbins tell us, (who in this case seem to be competent Evidence) that the ancient Hebrews in their Astronomy, which the movable Feasts of their Ritual necessitated them to cultivate, did not represent the Stars, either single or in Constellations, by the name or figure of any Animal whatsoever; but distinguished them by the letters of their alphabet, artificially combined. And this they assure us was the constant practice, till, in the later ages, they became acquainted with the Grecian Sciences: Then, indeed, they learnt the art of tricking up their SPHERE, and making it as picturesque as their neighbours. But still they did it with modesty and reserve; and hesitated even then, to admit of any human Figure. The reason given for this scrupulous observance, namely, the danger of Idolatry, is the highest confirmation of the truth of their account. For it is not to be believed, that, when the ASTRONOMY and SUPERSTITION of Egypt were so closely

closely colleagued, and that the combination was supported by this very means, the NAMES given to the Constellations, it is not to be believed, I say, that Moses, who, under the ministry of God, forbad the Israelites *to make any likeness of any thing in* HEAVEN *above* according to the old mode, would suffer them to make *new likenesses* there: which, if not in the first intention set up to be worshipped, yet, we know, never waited long to obtain that honour. To corroborate this Rabbinical account relative to the Hebrew Astronomy, we may observe, that the Translators of the Septuagint, the Heads and Doctors of the Jewish Law, who must needs know what was conformable to the practice derived from that Law, understood the Writer of the book of Job to mean no more nor less than the DEVIL by this periphrasis of the *crooked Serpent*; and so translated it, ΔΡΑΚΟΝΤΑ ΑΠΟΣΤΑΤΗΝ, the *apostate Dragon*.

From all this it appears, that neither MOSES nor ESDRAS could call a Constellation by the name of the *crooked Serpent*.

V. The last Actor in this representation, is Job's fourth friend, ELIHU *the son of Barachel the Buzite*, who is brought upon the stage in the thirty-second chapter. He is made to reprove Job with great asperity; and, like the other three, to have his *wrath kindled against him:* and yet, to the surprise of all the Commentators, he is not involved in their Sentence, when GOD passes judgment on the Controversy. Here again, the only solution of the difficulty is our interpretation of the book of Job. Elihu's opposition was the severity of a true friend; the others' the malice of pretended ones. His severity against Job arose from this, that *Job justified himself rather than God**,

* Ch. xxxii. ver. 2.

that

that is, was more anxious to vindicate his own innocence than the equity of God's Providence. For under the person of ELIHU was designed the *sacred Writer himself*. He begins with the character of a true Prophet, under which, as in the act of inspiration, he represents himself. *I am full of matter, the Spirit within me constraineth me. Behold, my belly is as wine which hath no vent, it is ready to burst like new bottles**. And this, he contrasts with the character of the false Prophets of that time,—*Let me not, I pray you, accept any man's person, neither let me give flattering titles unto man*†. But all this will appear from the following considerations.

Elihu, on the entrance upon his argument, addresses the three friends in the following manner: *Now he hath not directed his words against* ME: *neither will I answer him with* YOUR *speeches*‡. This sufficiently discriminates his cause and character from theirs. He then turns to Job: "My words (says he) shall be of "the *uprightness* of my heart; and my lips shall "utter *knowledge* clearly. The *Spirit of God hath* "*made me*, and the *breath of the Almighty* hath given "me *life*. If thou canst answer me, set thy words in "order before me, and stand up. BEHOLD, I AM "ACCORDING TO THY WISH, IN GOD'S STEAD: "I also am formed out of the clay§," &c. This clearly intimates the character of God's chosen Servant: These were of approved integrity, they received the divine inspiration, and were therefore in *God's stead* to the People. Elihu goes on in the same strain.—"He excites Job to attention,—accuses him of charging GOD with injustice,—reproves his impiety,—tells him that men cry in their afflictions, and are not heard

* Ch. xxxii. ver. 18, 19. † Ver. 21.
‡ Ver. 14. § Ch. xxxiii. ver. 3, & seq.

for

for want of faith:—that his sins hinder the descent of GOD's blessings; whose wisdom and ways are unsearchable."—But is this the conversation of one private man to another? Is it not rather a public exhortation of an Hebrew Prophet speaking to the People? Hence too, we may see the great propriety of that allusion to the case of Hezekiah *, mentioned above, which the writer of the book of Job, in this place, puts into the mouth of Elihu. The Spirit with which Elihu speaks is farther seen from his telling Job that *he desires to justify him* †. And yet he accuses him of saying, *It profiteth a man nothing, that he should delight himself with God* ‡: and expostulates with him yet further; *Thinkest thou this to be right that thou saidst, My righteousness is more than God's? For thou saidst, What advantage will it be unto thee, and what profit shall I have, if I be cleansed from my sin* §? Here the Commentators are much scandalized, as not seeing how this could be fairly collected from what had passed: yet it is certain he says no more of Job than what the Prophets say of the People represented under him. Thus Malachi: "Ye have wearied "the Lord with your words: yet ye say, Wherein "have we wearied him? When ye say, *Every one* "*that doth evil is good in the sight of the Lord, and* "*he delighteth in them*; *or, Where is the God of* "*judgment* ‖?" And again: *Ye have said, It is vain to serve God: and what profit is it, that we have kept his ordinance, and that we have walked mournfully before the Lord of Hosts? And now we call the proud happy: Yea they that work wickedness are set up; yea they that tempt God are even delivered* ¶. It was

* Ch. xxxiii. ver. 18, & seq.
† Ch. xxxii. ver. 32.
‡ Ch. xxxiv. ver. 9.
§ Ch. xxxv. ver. 2, 3.
‖ Mal. ii. 17.
¶ Mal. iii. 14, 15.

this

this which kindled Elihu's wrath against Job; who, in this work, is represented to be really guilty; as appears not only from the beginning of GOD's speech to him*; but from his own confession †, which follows. It is remarkable that Job, from the beginning of his misfortunes to the coming of his three comforters, though greatly provoked by his Wife, *sinned not* (as we are told) *with his lips* ‡. But, persecuted by the malice and bitterness of their words, he began to lay such stress on his own innocence as even to accuse the justice of GOD. This was the very state of the Jews at this time: So exactly has the sacred Writer conducted his allegory! They bore their straits and difficulties with temper, till their enemies the *Cutheans*, and afterwards *Sanballat*, *Tobiah*, and the *Arabians*, confederated against them; and then they fell into indecent murmurings against GOD. And here let us observe a difference in the conduct of Elihu and the three friends, a difference which well distinguishes their characters: They accuse Job of *preceding* faults; Elihu accuses him of the *present*, namely, his impatience and impiety: which evidently shews that *his* charge was *true*, and that theirs was unjust §.

Again, Elihu uses the very same reasonings against Job and his three friends ‖, which are afterwards put into the mouth of GOD himself ¶, resolving all into his OMNIPOTENCY. *Elihu*'s speech is indeed in every respect the same with GOD's, except in the severity of his reproof to Job. And, in that, the Writer hath shewn much address in conducting his subject. The end and purpose of this Work was to encourage the Jews to a perseverance in their duty from the assured

* Ch. xxxviii. † Ch. xlii. ver. 1, & seq. ‡ Ch. ii. ver. 10.
§. See note [BB] at the end of this volume.
‖ From ch. xxxii. to xxxvii. ¶ From ch. xxxviii. to xlii.

care

care and protection of Providence. At the same time, as they were growing impatient, it was necessary this temper should be rebuked. But as the ordonance of the Poem is disposed, the putting the reproof into the mouth of the Almighty would have greatly weakened the end and purpose of the Work. This part therefore is given to his servant Elihu: and GOD's sentence is all grace and favour on the side of Job, and indignation and resentment against his false Friends. For this event, the Writer had finely prepared us, in making Job, in the heat of the disputation, say to these friends, *Wilt thou speak wickedly for God? and talk deceitfully for him? Will ye accept his person? Will ye contend for God? Is it good that he should search you out? or as one man mocketh another do ye so mock him?* HE WILL SURELY REPROVE YOU, *if ye do secretly accept Persons**. The judicious reader will observe another artful circumstance in the cast of Elihu's oration. The three friends, in the grand question concerning an *equal Providence*, went directly over to one side, and Job to another: Elihu inclines to neither, but resolves all into submission to the Almighty power of GOD. For it was yet inconvenient to acquaint the Jews, (who were just going to fall under a *common Providence*) with the truth of their case. Hence, to observe it by the way, another circumstance arises to determine the date of the poem. We have shewn that the *Subject* suited only this time: We now see that the *manner* of treating the Subject could agree to no other. On the whole, this intermediate speech of Elihu's was the finest preparative for the decisive one which was to follow.

Farther, The true character of Elihu is seen from hence, that Job replies nothing to these words, as conscious

* Chap: xiii. ver. 7, 8, & seq.

scious of the truth of his reproofs; and that they were the reproofs of a Friend. And, indeed, his submission, on this occasion, was to represent the repentance of the Jews on the preaching of their Prophets, Haggai, Zechariah, and Malachi.

But lastly, Elihu's not being involved in the condemnation of the three friends is the most convincing argument of his very different Character. This, as we have said, exceedingly perplexed the Commentators. But where was the wonder, he should be acquitted, when he had said nothing but what GOD himself repeated and confirmed? What is rather to be admired is the severe sentence passed upon the three friends; and that, for the crime of *impiety*. A thing utterly inexplicable on the common interpretation. For let them be as guilty as you please, to Job, they are all the way advocates for GOD; and hold nothing concerning his Government that did not become his Nature and Character. But let us once suppose, these three friends to represent the Adversaries of the Jews, and the difficulty ceases. All their pretences are then hypocritical: and they impiously assume the Patronage of GOD only to carry on their malice to more advantage against Job. Why the Writer of this book did not *openly* expose the wickedness of their hearts, as is done in the book of Ezra and Nehemiah, was because the nature of the work would not suffer it; the question in debate, and the managers of the question, necessarily requiring that the part they took should have a specious outside of piety and veneration toward GOD. In a word, Job is made to say something wrong, because he represents the impatient Jews of that time: His three false friends, to say something right, because the nature of the drama so required: And

Elihu

Elihu to moderate with a perfect rectitude, because he represented the person of a Prophet.

But to see the truth of this interpretation in its best light, one should have before one's eyes all those difficulties with which the Commentators of the book of Job are entangled at almost every step. A view of this would draw us into an unreasonable length. I shall only take notice of one of the most judicious of them, (who has collected from all the rest) in the very case of this Elihu. CALMET characterises the fourth friend in this manner: *There was now none but Elihu, the youngest and least judicious, that held out against Job's arguments—Elihu here by a vain parade and overflow of words gives a reason*, &c.* Again: *Elihu was given to represent one who knew not how to be silent, a great talker†.* And again: *It cannot be denied but that there is a mixture of ignorance and presumption in what Elihu says: and, above all, a strange prejudice and visible injustice in most of the accusations he brings against Job‡.* This he says indeed. But when he comes to find Elihu escape GOD's condemnation, in which the other three are involved, he alters his note, and unsays all the hard things he had thrown out against him. *Although Elihu* (says he) *had mistaken the sense of his friend's words, yet, for all that, God seems, at least, to have approved his*

* Il n'y eut qu'Eliu, qui étoit le plus jeune & le moins judicieux, qui ne se rendit pas—par un vain etalage des paroles Eliu rend ici raison, &c. Sur C. xxxii. ver. 1.

† Pour designer un homme qui ne se peut taire, un grand causeur. Sur C. xxxii. ver. 18.

‡ On ne peut nier, qu'il n'y ait & de l'ignorance & de la presumption dans ce que dit Eliu, &, sur tout, une etrange prevention & une injustice visible dans la plupart des accusations, qu'il forma contre Job. Sur C. xxviii. ver. 2.

intention,

intention, because when he declares to Job's friends that they had spoken amiss, and commands them to offer up burnt-offerings for themselves, he only speaks of Bildad, Eliphaz, and Zophar, without mentioning Elihu. Besides, Job answers not a word to this last, and by his silence seems to approve of his discourse.* GROTIUS, who strove to be more consistent in his character of Elihu, which yet his acquittal in GOD's sentence will not suffer any Commentator to be, upon the received idea of this Book, has run into a very strange imagination. He supposes Elihu might be a domestic, or retainer to one of the three friends, and so be involved in the condemnation of his principal †. —But, now mark the force of prejudice to inveterate notions! It is visible to every one who regards the two speeches of Elihu and GOD with the least attention, that the doctrine and the reasoning are the same. Yet Calmet's general character of Elihu is, that there is *a vain parade and overflow of words*; that there is a *mixture of ignorance and presumption*, and *a visible injustice, in most of the accusations he brings against Job.* And yet of GOD's speech he says, *Here we have* A CLEAR SOLUTION *of the difficulties which had perplexed and embarrassed these five friends* ‡.—Pity that this *clear solution* should turn out to be no *solution* at all.

* Quoiqu' Eliu eût mal pris le sens des paroles de son ami, toutefois Dieu semble approuver au moins son intention: puisque lorsqu'il declare aux amis de Job qu'ils ont mal parlé, & qu'il ordonne qu'on offre pour eux des holocaustres, il ne fait mention que de Bildad, d'Eliphaz, & de Sophar, sans parler d'Eliu. De plus, Job ne repond point à ce dernier, & par son silence il semble approuver son discours.

† Elihu hîc non nominatur, ut nec supra ii. 11. fortè quod assecla esset alicujus trium. In C. xlii. ver. 7.

‡ C'est ici le denouement de la piece, & la solution des difficultez, qui avoient été agitées entre ces cinque amis.

III. Having thus fixed the date of the book, our next enquiry will be concerning its AUTHOR. That it was composed by an inspired writer is beyond all question. Not only its uncontroverted reception and constant place in the Canon, and its internal marks of divinity, which this Exposition has much illustrated and enlarged, but its being quoted as inspired scripture by St. Paul*, will suffer no reasonable man to doubt of it. By this time therefore, I suppose, the Reader will be beforehand with me in judging it could scarce be any other than EZRA himself; who was a *ready scribe in the Law of Moses*, and had *prepared his heart to seek the Law of the Lord, and to do it, and to teach in Israel statutes and judgments*†. For he had the welfare of his People exceedingly at heart, as appears from the books of Ezra and Nehemiah. And this of Job, we have shewn, was written purposely for their instruction and consolation. He made a correct edition of the Scriptures, settled the Canon, and *added in several places throughout the books of his edition, what appeared necessary for the illustrating, connecting, or completing of them*‡. He is reasonably supposed to be the author of the two books of Chronicles and the book of Esther. It was a common tradition too amongst the Jews, that he was the same with Malachi. And his great reputation as *a ready scribe in the Law of Moses*, apparently gave birth to that wretched fable of the destruction of the Scriptures in the Babylonian captivity, and Ezra's re-production of them by divine inspiration.

Thus is our interpretation of the BOOK OF JOB so far from taking away any dignity, or authenticity it was before possessed of, that it establishes and enlarges

* 1 Cor. iii. 10. *He taketh the wise in their own craftiness.* Job v. 13.

† Ezra vii. 6. 10. ‡ Prideaux's Conn. P. i. b. 5.

both,

both. The shewing it principally respected a whole People highly ennobles the subject: and the fixing an anonymous writing on one of the most eminent of GOD's Prophets greatly strengthens its authority. But the chief advantage of my interpretation, I presume, lies in this, That it renders one of the most difficult and obscure books in the whole Canon, the most easy and intelligible; reconciles all the characters to Nature, all the arguments to Logic, and all the doctrines to the course and order of GOD's Dispensations. And these things shewing it superior, in excellence, to any human Composition, prove, what universal Tradition hath always taught, that it is of divine Original.

II.

Having brought down the date of this book so low, it is of little importance to our subject, whether the famous passage in the nineteenth chapter be understood of a RESURRECTION *from the dead*, or only of TEMPORAL DELIVERANCE *from afflictions* *. Yet as our interpretation affords new assistance for determining this long debated question, it will not be improper to sift it to the bottom.

I make no scruple then to declare for the opinion of those who say that the words [*I know that my Redeemer liveth, and that he shall stand at the latter day upon the earth. And though after my skin, worms destroy this body, yet in my flesh shall I see God. Whom I shall see for myself, and mine eyes shall behold, and not another* †,] can signify no more than JOB's confidence in a TEMPORAL DELIVERANCE; as all agree they *may* signify. And therefore I shall the less insist upon a common observation, "That our Translators, who were in the other opinion, have given

* See note [CC] at the end of this volume.

† Chap. xix. ver. 25, & seq.

a force to their expression which the Original will by no means bear."

My reasons are these, 1. To understand the words, of a *Resurrection*, is repugnant to the whole tenor of the Argument: and to understand them of a *temporal deliverance*, is perfectly agreeable thereto. 2. The end and design of the Composition, as explained above, absolutely requires this latter sense, and disclaims the former. 3. The former sense is repugnant to Job's own express declaration in other places.

I. We must observe that the book of Job is strictly argumentative: and though sententious, and abounding with poetic figures, yet they are all subservient to the matter in dispute. In this respect, much unlike the writings of David and Solomon, which treat of divine or moral matters in short and detached sentences. On which account, the ablest of those, who go into the sense of a *Resurrection*, have found the necessity of reconciling it to the Context. Thus much being granted, we argue against the sense they put upon it, from these considerations:—1. First the Disputants are all equally embarrassed in adjusting the ways of Providence. Job affirms that the Good man is sometimes unhappy: yet he appears to regard that Dispensation as a *new thing* and matter of wonder, *upright men shall be astonished at this**; which, our interpretation well accounts for. The *three friends* contend that the Good man can never be unhappy, because such a situation would reflect dishonour on God's attributes. Now the doctrine of a *Resurrection*, supposed to be here urged by Job, cleared up all this embarras. If therefore his Friends thought it true, it ended the dispute: if false, it lay upon them to confute. Yet they do neither: they neither call it into

* Chap. xvii. ver. 8.

question,

question, nor allow it to be decisive. But, without the least notice that any such thing had been urged, they go on, as they began, to inforce their former arguments, and to confute that which, they seem to understand, was the only one Job had urged against them, *viz.* The *consciousness of his own innocence.* But to be a little more particular. It fell to Zophar's part to answer the argument contained in the words in question, which I understand to be this—" Take, says Job, this " proof of my innocence: I believe, and confidently " expect, that God will visit me again in mercy, and " restore me to my former condition." To this Zophar, in effect, replies: But why are you so miserable now? For he goes on, in the twentieth chapter, to describe the punishment of the Wicked to be just such a state as Job then laboured under. He does not directly say, *The Good are not miserable*; but that follows from the other part of the proposition (which he here inforces as being a little more decent) *The bad are never happy.* Now suppose Job spoke of the *Resurrection*, Zophar's answer is wide of the purpose. 2. But what is still more unaccountable, Job, when he resumes the dispute, sticks to the argument he first set out with; and though he found it gave his Friends little satisfaction, yet he repeats it again and again. But this other argument of a *Resurrection*, so full of Piety and Conviction, which they had never ventured to reply to, he never once resumes; never upbraids his Adversaries for their silence; nor triumphs, as he well might, in their inability to answer it. But, if ever it were the object of their thoughts, it passed off like a Dream or Reverie to which neither side gave any attention. In a word, the Dispute between Job and his Friends stands thus: They hold, that if GOD afflicted the Good man, it would be unjust; therefore

the Good man was not afflicted. Job says, that GOD did afflict the Good man: but that Reason must here submit, and own God's ways to be inscrutable. Could he possibly rest in that answer, how pious soever, if he had the more satisfactory solution of a FUTURE STATE? To this let me add, that if Job spoke of a *Resurrection*, he not only contradicts the general tenor of his argument, maintained throughout the whole disputation, but likewise what he says in many places concerning the *irrecoverable dissolution* of the body *. It is true, that even in the sense of a *temporal deliverance* he contradicts what he had said, in his despair, in the seventeenth chapter: But there is a manifest difference between a contradiction of *opinion and belief*, as in the first case; and of *passion and affection* only, as in the latter. And for this contradiction he seems to apologize, when he comes to himself, by desiring that this confidence in his Deliverer might be engraved on a Rock, as the opinion he would stand to. 3. But what is strangest of all, When each party had confounded themselves, and one another, for want, as one would think, of this principle of a *Resurrection*, which so easily unravelled all the perplexities of the dispute, the fourth Friend, the Moderator, steps in, as the precursor of the Almighty, who afterwards makes his appearance as the great Decider of the Controversy. Here then we might reasonably expect the Doctrine of the *Resurrection* to be resumed; and

* See ch. vii. ver. 9. 21. Ch. x. ver. 21. Ch. xvi. ver. 22. Ch. xiv. ver. 7, & seq. Could one who said, *For there is hope of a tree, if it be cut down, that it will sprout again*, &c. *But man dieth*, &c. could such a one (I speak of the personated character) think of the body, like him who said, *But some man will say, How are the dead raised up, and with what body do they come? Thou fool, that which thou sowest is not quickened, except it die. And that which thou sowest, thou sowest not that body that shall be, but bare grain; it may chance of wheat, or of some other grain*, &c.

that the honour of the solution which it affords, was reserved for These; but, to our great surprise, they neither of them give us the least hint concerning it.—Those who contend for this interpretation, suppose that the notion was here delivered in order to support its truth. What reason then can they give why neither the Moderator nor Decider should employ it, to clear up difficulties, when Job himself had touched upon it before? Elihu justifies GOD's conduct; God bears witness to Job's innocence: yet both concur in resolving all into Power Omnipotent. This tends more to cloud than clear up the obscurities of the debate: Whereas the doctrine of a *Resurrection* had rendered every thing plain and easy. In a word, no solution is given, though a decision be made. All this, on the common System, is quite unaccountable to our faculties of understanding.

Let us see next whether my sense of the words agree better with the tenor of the Dispute. Job, now provoked past sufferance at the inhumanity and malice of his pretended Friends, gives himself up to despair*; and seems, as we have observed, to contradict that part of his position which he had hitherto held†, "that GOD would at length bring the Good "man out of trouble." For which being reproved by Bildad, *(Shall the earth be forsaken for thee? and shall the* ROCK *be removed out of his place‡?* i.e. because it is thy pleasure so obstinately to maintain that God does not govern by equal Laws, shall it therefore be so? The consequence of which would be a speedy desolation.—Shall the *Rock*§ or Providence of

* Chap. xvii. † Ch. xiii. 15, 16.—xiv. 13.

‡ Chap. xviii. ver. 4.

§ By the ROCK I suppose is meant the *extraordinary Providence of God*; this being the common name by which it went amongst

of God be removed, to humour your passions?) Job recollects himself in the nineteenth chapter, and comes again to his former mind. He begins by complaining of their cruel usage: Says, that if indeed he were in an error, his case was so deplorable that they ought rather to treat him with indulgence: that this was no season for severity: begs they would have pity on him; and then retracts what had fallen from him in the anguish and bitterness of his soul: and lastly delivers this as his fixed sentiment, in which he was determined to abide; (and in which he had indeed acquiesced, till made impatient and desperate by the harshness of their treatment) namely, that God would at length bring the Good man out of trouble. I KNOW THAT MY REDEEMER LIVETH, &c. Which he introduces thus: *Oh that my words were now written, Oh that they were printed in a book! that they were graven with an iron pen and lead, in the rock for ever*!* As much as to say, What I uttered just before, through the distemperature of passion, I here retract, and desire may be forgotten, and that this may be understood as my fixed and unshaken belief†. And in this sentiment, it is remarkable, he henceforward perseveres; never relapsing again into the like extravagance of passion. Which conduct agrees exactly with his general Thesis, "that Providence is not equally administered;

the Jewish People. *He is the* Rock, *his work is perfect; For all* his Ways *are Judgment*, Deut. xxxii. 4. *The* Rock *of his Salvation*, ver. 15.—*Of the* Rock *that begat thee*, ver. 18. *Except their* Rock *had sold them*, ver. 30. *Their* Rock *is not as our* Rock, *even our Enemies themselves being Judges*, ver. 31. *Their* Rock *in whom they trusted*, ver. 37. *Neither is there any* Rock *like our God*, 1 Sam. ii. 2. *The* Rock *of* Israel *spake to me*, 2 Sam. xxiii. 3. *O* Rock, *thou hast established them*, Heb. i. 10. and a great number of other places.

* Chap. xix. ver. 23, 24.

† See note [DD] at the end of this volume.

administered; for that the Good Man is frequently unhappy, and the wicked prosperous; yet that, at last, God will bring the Good Man out of trouble, and punish the Wicked doers."

II. In the second place, if I have given a right interpretation of the book of Job, a *temporal deliverance*, and not the *resurrection of the body*, must needs be meant: For the moral of the dramatic piece was to assure the *People*, represented under the person of this venerable Patriarch, of those great temporal blessings which the three Prophets, Haggai, Zechariah, and Malachi, had predicted, in order to allay that tumult of mind which arose in every one, on seeing the extraordinary Providence, which protected their Forefathers, now just about to be withdrawn from them.

III. Thirdly and lastly, To understand these words of a *resurrection of the body*, expressly contradicts Job's plain declaration against any such hope, in the following words, *As the cloud is consumed and vanisheth away, so he that goeth down to the grave, shall come up no more**. Again—*So man lieth down, and riseth not till the heavens be no more: they shall not awake, nor be raised out of their sleep* †. And again, *If a man die, shall he live again* ‡? Clarius and Drusius on the words, *till the heavens be no more*, say, *Intellige in æternum*—est sensus, nullo unquam tempore, nam cœlum semper erit. It is not in human language to express a denial of the *Resurrection of the body* in stronger or plainer terms. So that it is no wonder the SADDUCEES should, as they always did, urge the first of these texts as the palmary argument against the Pharisees; but as an argument *ad homines* only, for they refused to have their opinions tried by any thing

* Ch. vii. ver. 9. † Ch. xiv. ver. 12. ‡ Ver. 14.

but

but the *Law of Moses*. However, to make it pertinent to the support of their impiety, they understood the book of Job to be an inspired relation of a *real* conference between the Patriarch and his Friends. And give me leave to observe, that my Adversaries who have the same idea of this book will never be able to acquit the Prophet of this impious Sadducean opinion. Whereas the dramatic nature of it, here contended for, frees him entirely from the charge; which I desire may be accepted as another proof of the truth of our general interpretation of the Work. Manassah Ben Israel, who holds that Job taught the very contrary to a future State (not apprehending the nature of the Composition) has a whole chapter against the Sadducees, to shew, that this makes nothing against the reality of such a State.

I cannot better conclude what hath been here said, on this famous passage, or better introduce what will be said on others to come next under examination, than with the judicious remark of an ancient Catholic Bishop, on this very book: IT IS FIT WE SHOULD UNDERSTAND NAMES AGREEABLY TO THE NATURE OF THE SUBJECT MATTER; AND NOT MOLD AND MODEL THE TRUTH OF THINGS ON THE ABUSIVE SIGNIFICATION OF WORDS*. This, though a maxim of the most obvious reason, can never, in theologic matters especially, be too often inculcated. How usual is it, for instance, to have the following words of St. Paul quoted as a proof for the general resurrection of the dead, by those who (as the good Bishop says) *mold the truth of things on the abusive signification of words*. "He that raised up Christ from the dead

* Πλὴν χρὴ τὰ ῥήματα προσήκει νοεῖν πρὸς τὴν τῶν ὑποκειμένων πραγμάτων φυκνότητα, καὶ ἐκ τῆς κατάχρησιν τῶν λέξεων τ' ἀληθῆ κανονίζειν. Serv. in Catena Græca in Job.

" shall

" shall also quicken your mortal bodies by his spirit " that dwelleth in you*."

III. But as the *terms*, in this passage of Job, are supposed, by me, to be metaphorical, and to *allude* to the restoration of a dead body to life, some have ventured to infer, that those who use such terms and make such allusions must needs have had the saving knowledge of the thing alluded to, *Resurrection of the Body:* And the following observation has been repeated, by more than one Writer, with that air of complacency, which men usually have for arguments they think unanswerable—*If the Scriptures speak of temporal misfortunes and deliverance, in terms of death and a Resurrection, then the doctrine of a resurrection must have been well known, or the language would have been unintelligible. And here I will lay down this rule, All words that are used in a figurative sense, must be first understood in a literal*†.

This looks, at first sight, like saying something; but is indeed an empty fallacy; in which two very different things are confounded with one another; namely, the *idea* of a Resurrection, and the *belief* of it. I shall shew therefore that the very contrary to the first part of the learned Doctor's observation is true, and that the latter is nothing to the purpose.

I. The Messengers of God, prophesying for the people's consolation in disastrous times, frequently promise a restoration to the former days of felicity: and to obviate all distrust from unpromising appearances, they put the case even at the worst; and assure the People, in metaphorical expressions, that though the Community were as entirely dissolved as a dead

* Rom. viii. 11.

† Dr. Felton's two Sermons before the University of Oxford, pp. 18, 19.

body

body reduced to dust, yet God would raise that Community again to life. Thus Isaiah: *Thy dead men shall live, together with my dead body shall they arise: Awake and sing, ye that dwell in the dust: For thy dew is as the dew of herbs, and the earth shall cast out the dead**. And that we may have no doubt of the Prophet's meaning, he himself explains it afterwards in the following words †: *And I will camp against thee round about, and I will lay siege against thee with a mount, and I will raise forts against thee. And thou shalt be brought down, and shalt speak out of the ground, and thy speech shall be low out of the dust, and thy voice shall be as one that hath a familiar spirit out of the ground, and thy speech shall whisper out of the dust.* Nothing could be more plain or simple than such a metaphoric image, even amongst men who had no knowledge that the natural body was indeed to rise again; because every man knowing what it is to *live* and to *die*, every man knows what it is to *revive*, this being only an idea compounded of the other two: So that we see there was no occasion for the *doctrine of the Resurrection* to make *the language intelligible.*

Nay farther, this metaphorical expression must have there most efficacy where the *doctrine of the Resurrection* was unknown. For we have observed it was employed to inspire the highest sentiments of God's Omnipotency; but that always strikes the mind most forcibly which is as well *new* as *superior* to its comprehension. Therefore *life from the dead* was used, (and from the force with which a new idea strikes) it became almost proverbial in the writings of the Prophets, to express the most unlikely deliverance, by the exertion of Almighty power.

* Ch. xxvi. ver. 19. † Ch. xxix. 3, 4.

The

The following instance will support both these observations; and shew, that the Doctrine was unknown; and that the Image was of more force for its being unknown. The Prophet Ezekiel *, when the state of things was most desperate, is carried, by the Spirit, into a valley full of dry bones, and asked this question, *Son of man, Can these dry bones live?* A question which God would hardly have made to a Prophet brought up in the knowledge and belief of a Resurrection. But supposing the question had been made; the answer by men so brought up, must needs have been, without hesitation, in the affirmative. But we find the Prophet altogether surprised at the strangeness of the demand. He was drawn one way by the apparent impossibility of it to natural conceptions; he was drawn the other, by his belief in the Omnipotence of God. Divided between these two sentiments, he makes the only answer which a man in such circumstances could make, *O Lord God thou knowest* †. This surprising act of Omnipotency is therefore shewn in Vision, either real or imaginary. The bones come together; they are clothed with flesh, and receive the *breath of life* ‡. And then God declares the meaning of the representation. "Then he said unto me, Son "of Man, these bones are the whole house of Israel: "Behold, they say, Our bones are dried, and our hope "is lost, we are cut off for our parts. Therefore "prophesy and say unto them, Thus saith the Lord "God, Behold, O my People, I will open your graves, "and cause you to come up out of your graves, and "bring you into the land of Israel. And ye shall "know that I am the Lord, when I have opened your "graves, O my People, and brought you up out of "your graves, and shall put my Spirit in you, and ye

* Ch. xxxvii. † Ver. 3. ‡ Ver. 8. 10.

"shall

" shall live; and I shall place you in your own Land.
" Then shall ye know that I the Lord have spoken it,
" and performed it, saith the Lord*."

Here we see, in a Prophecy delivered in Action or Vision, instead of *Words* (the nature and original of which has been discoursed of elsewhere) and afterwards explained by *words*, to ascertain its meaning, that the figurative ideas of Death and Resurrection are used for temporal distresses and deliverance: and this, at a time when the *Doctrine of the Resurrection*, from whence the metaphor is supposed to arise, was so far from being well known, that the figure could never have acquired its force and energy but from the People's ignorance of such a doctrine; the scenical representation, without all question, alluding to that proverbial speech amongst the Jews: *Wilt thou shew wonders to the dead? Shall the dead arise and praise thee*†? On the whole then nothing was ever worse grounded than the observation, that *if the Scriptures speak of temporal misfortunes and deliverance in the terms of death and a resurrection, then the* DOCTRINE *of a resurrection must have been well known, or the language would have been unintelligible.*

II. And now for the general Rule which follows: *All words that are used in a figurative sense must be first understood in a literal.* If no more be meant than that every figurative sense has a literal, the proposition is true, but trifling, because *figurative* is a relative term, and implies *literal* as its correlative. If it means, that he who uses words in a figurative sense must have an *idea* of the literal, this is likewise true, but nothing to the purpose, because the *idea* of a thing does not imply either the *truth* or the *belief* of it. But if it means, that a figurative proposition implies

* Ver. 11, & seq. † Ps. lxxxviii. 11.

the

the User's *belief* of its literal sense, this is to the purpose, but not true. The People had an *Idea* of dry bones being clothed again with flesh, and the breath of life inspired into the carcass; but they were so far from *believing* that was to be the case of all mankind, that they did not know whether it was possible that those bones in the valley could be restored.

To conclude with the ANSWERERS of this Dissertation, the miscellaneous *Writers* on the Book of Job; It may not be improper to remind them, that they would have done their duty better, and have given the learned and impartial Public more satisfaction, if, instead of labouring to evade two or three independent arguments, though corroborative of my interpretation, they had, in any reasonable manner, accounted, How this interpretation, which they affect to represent as visionary and groundless, should be able to lay open and unfold the whole conduct of the Poem upon one entire, perfect, elegant and noble plan, which does more than vulgar honour to the Writer who composed it. And that it should at the same time, be as useful in defining the Parts as in developing the Whole; so that particular texts, which, for want of sufficient light, had hitherto been an easy prey to Critics from every quarter, are now no longer affected by the common opprobrium affixed to this book, of its being a *nose of wax*, made to suit every religious System. Of which, amongst many others, may be reckoned the famous text just now explained. All this, our Hypothesis (as it is called) has been able to perform, in a Poem become, through length of time and negligence, so desperately perplexed, that Commentators have chosen, as the easier task, rather to find their own notions in it than to seek out those of the Author.

For

For the rest, For any fuller satisfaction, He that wants it is referred to the third chapter of the *Free and candid Examination of the Bishop of London's* Principles, &c.* where he will see, in a fuller light than perhaps he has been accustomed to see such matters, the great superiority of acute and solid reasoning over chicane and sophistry.

SECT. III.

THE book of JOB hath engaged me longer than I intended: but I shall make amends, by dispatching the remainder of the objections with great brevity.

Those brought from the OLD TESTAMENT are of two kinds:

I. Such as are supposed to prove the *separate* Existence, or, as it is called, the *immortality* of the Soul.

II. Such as are supposed to prove a future state of *Reward and punishment*, together with a *Resurrection* of the body.

I. To support the first point, the following words of Moses are urged,—"And God said, Let us make "Man in *our image*, after our *likeness*: and let them "have DOMINION, *&c.*—And God created man in "*his own image*, in the *image of God* created he "him †:" From whence it is inferred, that Man was created with an *immaterial soul*. On the contrary, I suppose, that Moses was here giving intimation of a very different thing, namely, its *rationality*. My reasons are these:—I think, indeed, it may be strictly demonstrated that Man's soul is *immaterial*; but then the same arguments which prove his *immateriality*, prove likewise that the souls of all living animals are *immaterial*; and this too without the least injury

* Dr. Sherlock. † Gen. i. 27.

to

to Religion *. An *immaterial* soul therefore being common to him with the whole brute creation, and it being something peculiar to man, in which the image of God is said to consist, I conclude the Historian did not here teach any thing concerning an *immaterial Soul*. The only two things peculiar to man are his *Shape* and his *Reason*. None but an Anthropomorphite will say it was his *shape*; I conclude therefore it was his REASON: And this farther appears from hence, When God says, *Let us make man in our image, after our likeness*, he immediately adds, *And let him have* DOMINION over the whole Brute Creation: Which plainly marks in what the *image* or *likeness* consisted: for what was it that could invest man with a Dominion *de facto*, after he had it by this grant, *de jure*, but his REASON only? This Dominion too was apparently given for some preeminence; but man's preeminence consists not in his having an *immaterial* soul, for that he has in common with all other animals: But in his *Reason* alone, which is peculiar to him: The *likeness* therefore or *image* consisted in REASON. And thus Philo Judæus understood the matter, where alluding to this text, he says, Λόγος ἐστὶν εἰκὼν Θεοῦ, *Reason is the image of God*. So much for the first Objection.

2. The next is drawn from the following words of the same Writer: "And the Lord God formed man "of the dust of the ground, and breathed into his "nostrils the *breath of life*, and man became *a living* "*soul* †;" that is, say these Reasoners, he had an *immortal soul*. But this is only building on the strength of an English expression. Every one knows that what the translation calls a *living soul*, signifies in

* See Dr. Clarke against Mr. Collins on the Soul; and The Enquiry into the Nature of the Human Soul, by Mr. Baxter.

† Gen. ii. 7.

the original, *a living animal:* Hence the same Writer speaks of a *dead soul* *, as well as a *living soul.* And indeed not only the propriety of the terms, but the very sense of the Context requires us to confine the meaning of *living soul*, to *living animal.* GOD, the great plastic Artist, is here represented as making and shaping out a figure of earth or clay, which he afterwards animates or inspires with life. He *breathed*, says the sacred Historian, into this Statue, *the breath of life*; and the lump became a living creature. But St. Paul, I hope, may be believed, whatever becomes of my explanation: who thus comments the very text in question:—*And so it was written, the first man Adam was made* A LIVING SOUL, *The last was made* A QUICKENING SPIRIT †. Here we find the Apostle is so far from understanding any *immortality* in this account of Man's Creation, that he opposes the mortal animal ADAM, to the immortal-making Spirit of CHRIST.

3. Again, God in his sentence of condemnation denounced against all the parties concerned in Adam's transgression, says to the serpent, *I will put enmity between thee and the woman; and between thy seed and her seed: it shall bruise thy head, and thou shalt bruise his heel* ‡. It will be allowed that even the most early mortals could not be so stupid as modern infidels would make them, to understand these words in their strict literal sense, that "serpents would be apt to bite men by the heel, and men as ready to crush their heads." But to enable them to understand, by this part of the sentence, that "man should be restored to his lost inheritance of immortality by the sacrifice of Christ on the cross," needed an express revelation of

* Numb. vi. 6. See also Lev. xxi. 1, & 11.
† 1 Cor. xv. 45—49. ‡ Gen. iii. 15.

this

this mystery. What then did the Jews understand by it? This certainly, and nothing but this, that "the evil Spirit, who actuated the Serpent, would continue his enmity to the human race; but that man, by the divine assistance, should be at length enabled to defeat all his machinations."

4. Again, the phrase used by the sacred Historian to indicate the deaths of the Patriarchs, is further urged in support of the opposition—"*He died, and was gathered to his People* *. And *dying* is expressed by *going down into the grave*, or into *Hell*, SCHEOL. —*I will go down into the grave* (says *Jacob*) [or into *Hell*] *to my son mourning* †; which phrases are supposed to intimate the soul's surviving the body, and retiring, on the dissolution of the union, to one common Receptacle of Souls: for that it is not only said, the man *died, and was buried*, but likewise that he *was gathered to his fathers:* And Jacob said, he *would go down into the grave to his son*, who was supposed to have been devoured by wild beasts." But, 1. The Objectors do not reflect on the genius of the Eastern speech, which gives action and motion to every thing; in which to be reduced to one common lot or condition is called being *gathered to their People*; in this sense Jacob might properly say, he would go down to the grave to a dead son, who was never buried, *i. e.* that he should find no ease to his sorrows till he was reduced to the same condition. 2. The Objectors forget too the peculiar genius of the Hebrew tongue, that delights so much in Pleonasms; in which *to die*, and *to be gathered to their people*, are but two different phrases for the same thing. At the same time, I am ready to allow that this latter phrase originally arose

* Gen. xxv. 8. 17.—xxxv. 29.—xlix. 29, & 33.—Numb. xx. 24. 26. 28.—xxvii. 13. † Gen. xxxvii. 35.

(whatever People first employed it) from the notion of some common Receptacle of Souls. But we know how soon, and from what various causes, *terms* and *phrases* lose the memory of their original. 3. The truth of this interpretation is confirmed by the several contexts, where all these expressions occur; the Historian's purpose being evidently nothing else than to record the period of their existence here on earth.

These (except such as have been considered elsewhere) are all the texts I can find objected to my position, that *immortality* was not taught by the LAW. How little they are to the purpose is now seen. But little or much, the Reader will remember they make nothing against my general argument, which maintains that the early Jews, (those of them, I mean, and they certainly were but few, who thought any thing of the matter) had at least some vague notion of the Soul's surviving the body. But the particular reason I had to examine them hath been given above.

II. We come next to those SCRIPTURES which are urged to prove, that *a future state of reward and punishment*, or a *resurrection of the body*, was taught by the Mosaic Law. But before we proceed to the particular texts, it will be proper to consider the general argument brought from the genius of the whole Jewish Law: "which, as they say, being entirely TYPICAL, or, as the Apostle says, SPIRITUAL, all the promises and denunciations of temporal good and evil, did denote and obumbrate a future state of reward and punishment; for that it was *a shadow of things to come, but that the body was of* CHRIST *." If the Objectors mean by this, that the sanction of Temporal reward and punishment was no more than a mere representation, in figurative expressions, of the Doctrine of a *future state*, without any real meaning in the then

* Coloss. ii. 17.

Providential

Providential disposition of the things of this life *: If, I say, this be their meaning, the whole pretence to Moses's divine Mission is irrecoverably given up. Not to say, that the very *pretence* would be as absurd as it was false. For a THEOCRACY (from whence flowed temporal rewards and punishments) was no figurative Expression, as appears from the real and substantial Laws made in support of the Thing. In a word, it is a vile and impious imagination, originally conceived by certain *Jewish* Allegorists after the *extraordinary Providence* was departed from them: and only to be matched by a like madness in certain *Mahometan* Allegorists, whose early successes made them fancy this *extraordinary Providence* was come to them; and therefore supposed, on the other hand, that Hell and Paradise in the *Alcoran* mean no more than the pleasures and afflictions of this life †. In which, Both have been outdone by a late Madman of our own, in his Discourses on the Gospel-Miracles. So oddly perverse is the human understanding when it has once forsaken the road of common sense.

But if by the Law's being TYPICAL or SPIRITUAL, no more be meant (as I think no sober man can mean more) than that the TEMPORAL REWARDS AND PUNISHMENTS, equally and *really* distributed, and the RITUAL WORSHIP, daily performed, were typical or significative of the GOSPEL DISPENSATION, and of the *life and immortality* which that Dispensation *brought to light*, I acknowledge it for a truth: And, what is more, I require nothing farther to prove my Proposi-

* See note [FF] at the end of this volume.

† Il y a parmi les sectateurs d'Ali, une secte qui prend son nom d'un Docteur nommé Alkhatthab, lequel a enseigné que les delices du Paradis & les peines de l'Enfer ne sont autre chose que les plaisirs & les afflictions de la vie. Herbelot, Bibl. Orientale, Mot AKHBAT, & AKHRET.

tion, *That a future state of rewards and punishments was not taught to the Jewish People by their Law.* The Objectors suppose, as I do, that the Jewish and Christian Religions are two parts of one entire Dispensation. St. Paul tells us the order of these two parts, THAT WAS NOT FIRST WHICH IS SPIRITUAL, BUT THAT WHICH IS NATURAL; AFTERWARDS THAT WHICH IS SPIRITUAL *. Yet, at the same time, he tells us, THE LAW IS SPIRITUAL †. How is this to be reconciled? No otherwise than thus, That the Law was TYPICAL of the future spiritual part of the one entire Dispensation.—Again, The Apostles, in order to shew the superior excellence of the GOSPEL, in their reasoning against Jews and Judaizing Christians, set the LAW in opposition to it, under the titles of *The Law of a carnal Commandment*; *The ministration of Death*; *The Law of Works:* and call subjection to it, *Subjection to the Flesh.* Yet these very Writers at the same time own that *the Law was* SPIRITUAL, or had a spiritual meaning. But if by this they would teach that the spiritual meaning was generally understood *under the Law*, their whole argument had concluded in a self-contradiction. For then it was not a *Law of a carnal commandment, a ministration of death*; but, indeed, *a Law of spirit, a ministration of life*; only under a dead and carnal cover; which being clearly seen through, or easily taken off, served for no more than a trick of *hocus pocus.* The consequence of all this would be, that the LAW was of equal dignity, and, though not of equal simplicity, yet, indeed, essentially the same with the GOSPEL. They owned, we see, that the *Law* had a *spiritual sense:* but when, and by whom discovered, the Apostle Paul informs us, by calling that sense the NEWNESS OF SPIRIT ‡;

* 1 Cor. xv. 46. † Rom. vii. 14. ‡ Rom. vii. 6.

which

which he opposes to *the oldness of the letter*, that is, the *letter of the Law*. In the former part of the verse, he speaks of the *Law being dead*; and, here, of its being *revived* with a *new spirit*, in contradistinction to the *oldness of the letter*. So true was it, what in another place he observes, that *the Law was a* SHADOW *of things to come*; *but the* BODY *was of Christ* *. The *shadow* not of a *body* then to be seen or understood, as these Answerers imagine, but of a *body that was to come*, and, by its presence, to explain the meaning and reason of the *shadow*. For the Jews being, as the Apostle says, *in bondage under the elements of the world* †, were as men shut up in prison, with their faces kept turned from the light, towards the whited wall of CEREMONIES: on which indeed they saw many *shadows*; but the *body* or opposite substance at their backs, to which they could not turn, they saw not. And, in this state, says the same Apostle, they were *kept shut up unto the Faith, which should afterwards be revealed* ‡. Therefore till that time came, it appears that the great community of the Jews had no knowledge of this *Faith*; one of the essential articles of which is *life everlasting*. This, we must needs have concluded even though he had not said, that till that time came, they *were in bondage under the elements of the world*. A proper character truly of a People acquainted with the revealed Doctrine of *life and immortality*. But the Objectors pretend that the reason why Moses did not PLAINLY teach a future state, in the manner CHRIST hath taught it, was because the Jews were a carnal people, incapable of *spiritual* things. Now what is the consequence of this incapacity, but that the *spiritual* sense was reserved for better times, when their

* Col. ii. 17. † Gal. iv. 3. ‡ Gal. iii. 23.

minds should grow more pure and defecated from carnal things; which all along continued so gross and bounded, that even the most easy of their typical informations, the *calling in of the Gentiles*, was never understood by them; yet this truth the Prophets had, from time to time, so plainly cultivated, that the vail of typical embroidery seems often to have been drawn aside, to assist their weak sight. But farther, The better part of the Objectors, I suppose, will allow that *temporal* good and evil were not only proposed, but *actually dispensed* to the Jews, living for some time under an equal Providence. And what was the consequence of this but to *confine* them to the *literal sense* of their Sanction, and stop them from looking farther? Yet in defiance of Reason, of Scripture, of the order of things, nay even of their own systems, these men will suppose, because the LAW is said to *be spiritual*, or to have a spiritual sense, that therefore this sense always went along with, and was inseparably attached to, the *literal*, in the understandings of the Jewish People. Which is so strangely absurd, that it takes away the very cause and occasion of *two senses*. For, Why, let me ask, had the Law a spiritual sense, under a *carnal cover*, but for this reason, that the first Jews were so grossly minded as to be incapable of spiritual things; and were therefore, in order to direct and govern their affections, presented with the *carnal*, to repose upon? That *Schoolmaster*, as St. Paul calls the LAW, which was to bring them by degrees, through those carnal elements, to the spiritual and sublime Doctrines of CHRIST.—Yet see the scheme of these Objectors. The early Jews are supposed of so sordid a taste as to be incapable of a spiritual Repast, and therefore they had a carnal Cover laid before them: yet were they, at the same time, so quick scented as

to pierce through this carnal shell to which they were attached, into the spiritual substance, for which they had no relish.

This may be *Reason*, say these men; but what is human *Reason* when opposed to Scripture? Just what it was, say I, before you set them at variance: and apparently for no other purpose than to silence and disgrace this modest Handmaid of *Revelation*.

However, Scripture, it seems, informs us that the figurative and literal, the spiritual and carnal senses of the Law, always went together. This, they say, the Author of the epistle to the Hebrews plainly teaches. *There are Priests who offer gifts according to the Law; who serve unto the example and shadow of heavenly things, as Moses was admonished of God when he was about to make the Tabernacle. For see* (saith he) *that thou make all things according to the pattern shewed thee in the mount* *. But these words will never do the business. Could the Objectors, indeed, find a Text which tells us, that "as Moses was admonished "of GOD about the spiritual sense of the Law, so he "informed the People of it," this would be to the purpose. As it is, it will hardly follow, that because Moses was admonished of the spiritual sense, that therefore the spiritual and a carnal went together in the Intellects and Worship of the People. Moses's knowledge of this secret I allow, as it seems to follow from the privilege of his Mission; for if *Abraham desired to see Christ's day, and saw it, and was glad*, we are not to suppose that Moses, who had a higher office in the ministry of God's Dispensations than Abraham had, should be less favoured than Abraham was. Yet though I believe this, the text here urged in support of it, does in strictness, prove little of the matter. The Objectors suppose the sense of the text

* Heb. viii. 4, 5.

to

to be this—"that *the Priests served unto the example* "*and shadow of heavenly things*, and that of this "truth, *Moses was admonished*, by God in the mount." But the Apostle is here instructing us in a very different truth. The words—*as Moses was admonished of God*—are a Similitude or Comparison which conveys a sense to this purpose,—"The Priests, who offer gifts according to the Law, serve unto the example and shadow of heavenly things, in as exact and close a manner as that Tabernacle, which Moses was admonished to make, answered to the pattern shewed him of it, in the mount." Not only the Argument which the Apostle is upon, but the propriety of the word Χρηματίζω points us to this sense: which signifies to command or direct the doing of a thing by an Oracle or Magistrate; and this Χρηματισμὸς or direction we find in the place which the sacred writer refers to—*And look that thou make them after this pattern, which was shewed thee in the mount* *. But there is nothing these men will not employ for the support of their absurdities. They will borrow aid even from a quibble or equivocation: And the following words of the same Apostle have been urged to prove that the Law taught its Followers the doctrines of the Gospel—*Unto us* [Christians] *was the* GOSPEL *preached as well as unto them* [Jews †.]

1. And now to proceed to the particular Texts produced from the PENTATEUCH, in support of this opinion, God says to Abraham, *In thee, shall all the families of the earth be blessed* ‡. The Jews understood this to signify a *formulary*, that men should use, when they invocated the choicest blessings on their friends and families, to this effect; *May God bless thee as he blessed Abraham.* And the first of Christian

* Exod. xxv. 40. † Heb. iv. 2. ‡ Gen. xii. 3.

Interpreters,

Interpreters, Hugo Grotius, understands it to signify a promised blessing, which, in time, should be derived to the whole earth, from Abraham's care that his posterity should continue in the belief and worship of the *one true God.* Indeed, when the fulness of time came, it would then be seen, both by Jews and Christians, that this blessing ultimately centred in the holy Jesus, the only begotten Son of God, to whom the Father hath delegated all power and dominion. Again, "GOD says to ABRAHAM, *I am thy exceeding great reward**." And again: "I will establish my covenant "between me and thee, and thy seed after thee, in "their generations, for an *everlasting covenant*; to be "a God *unto thee* and to thy seed after thee. And "I will give *unto thee*, and to thy seed after thee, the "land wherein thou art a stranger, all the land "of Canaan, for an everlasting possession; and I will "be their God †." "He repeats the same promise to Isaac and to Jacob *personally*; yet he gave Abraham no inheritance in the land, though he promised he would give it to him and to his seed after him."—Thus have these texts been urged by an excellent Writer ‡ against the *Sadducean* opinion, as containing a promise of future rewards in another life: But urged by him, I will suppose, as proving such a *promise* in a *secondary* or *spiritual* sense only. Because that sense is sufficient for his purpose: and because in that sense only, is it true, that they do contain such a promise. For, 1. in the *literal* sense it is a promise of the land of Canaan to Abraham and to his posterity; and in this sense it was literally fulfilled, though Abraham was never *personally* in possession of it; since Abraham and his posterity, put collectively, signify the RACE OF ABRA-

* Gen. xv. 1. † Gen. xvii. 7, 8.

‡ Dr. S. Clarke, Evid. of Nat. and Rev. Relig. p. 241. ed. 6.

HAM;

HAM; and that Race possessed the land of Canaan. And surely, GOD may be allowed to explain his own promise: Now though he tells Abraham, he would give HIM the land, yet, at the same time, he assures him that it would be many hundred years before his POSTERITY should be put into possession of it; for when Abraham desired to know whereby he might be certain that he, i.e. his *seed*, should inherit the land of Canaan *, he is ordered to offer a sacrifice; after which, GOD in a vision explains to him the import of his promise: That *his seed should be a stranger in the land that was not theirs, and should serve them, and that they should afflict them four hundred years: that afterwards they should come out with great substance, and in the fourth generation should come into* CANAAN, *for that the iniquity of the Ammonites was not yet full* †. And as concerning himself, that *he should go to his fathers in peace, and should be buried in a good old age* ‡. Thus we see, that both what GOD explained to be his meaning, and what Abraham understood him to mean, was, that his Posterity, after a certain time, should be led into possession of the Land. And lest any mistake should remain concerning the accomplishment of this promise, the sacred Historian sums up the relation in these words: *In that same day the Lord made a covenant with Abram, saying,* UNTO THY SEED HAVE I GIVEN *this land* §. But had the Historian omitted so minute an explanation of the promise, yet common sense would instruct us how to understand it. A whole Country is given to Abraham and to his seed. Could it possibly be GOD's design, who does nothing in vain, to place his Family in the land of Canaan, till they were numerous enough to occupy and defend it? His Posterity was his

* Gen xv. 8. † Gen. xv. 13, & seq. ‡ Ver. 15. § Ver. 18.

Representative:

Representative: and therefore the putting them into possession was the putting him into it. Not to say, that where a Grant is made to a body of men collectively, as to a People or a Family, no laws of contract ever understood the performance to consist in every individual's being a *personal* partaker. 2. Secondly, the giving an *heavenly* Canaan to Abraham could not be the literal sense of the text, because an *earthly* Canaan is owned to be the direct immediate subject of the promise. The JEWS indeed contend for this literal sense, and with some show of reason; for they hold, that the *future state* at the Resurrection will be passed in the land of Judea, where Abraham, they say, is then to rise and take possession *. This is consistent, however. But these CHRISTIAN Objectors, who hold no such opinion, must be content at last to find a *future state* only in the *spiritual* sense of the words: and that sense, we are by no means ambitious of taking from them.

2. "The days of the years of my pilgrimage, (says "Jacob to Pharaoh) are an hundred and thirty years: "few and evil have the days of the years of my life "been, and have not attained unto the days of the "years of the life of my fathers in the days of their "pilgrimage †."—From this speech it is concluded, that Moses taught a *future state:* and, especially since the Author of the epistle to the Hebrews hath brought

* Deus Abrahamo loquens ait: Dabo tibi, & semini tuo post te, terram peregrinationis tuæ. Atqui constat, Abrahamum, & reliquos Patriarchas eam terram non possedisse: necesse ergo est, ut resuscitentur, quo bonis promissis fruantur; alioqui promissa Dei irrita & falsa forent. Hinc itaque non tantum ANIMÆ IMMORTALITAS probatur, sed etiam *essentiale fundamentum legis*, RESURRECTIO scilicet MORTUORUM. Manasseh Ben-Israel *de Resurrectione Mort.* p. 7.

† Gen. xlvii. 9.

brought * it as a proof that Jacob and the Patriarchs looked for a *better country*. That Jacob did so, is unquestionable; but it can never be allowed that the words, in their *literal* and obvious meaning, express any such thing. Pharaoh is here questioning the Patriarch, not of human life in general, but of his own. Therefore, to make the reply pertinent, Jacob must be understood to mean by *his pilgrimage*, the unsettled way of life, living in tents, and removing from place to place, as the convenience of pasturage gave him invitation: and, by the *evil of his days*, the straits he suffered from the fraud of Laban, and the hatred of his brother Esau. As for the complaint of the *fewness of his days*, he himself explains it to be, not on account of the shortness of human life in general, but, because he *had not attained unto the days of the years of the life of his fathers*. The sense, therefore, which the writer of the epistle to the Hebrews puts upon these words, must needs be the *spiritual* sense.

3. The same Patriarch, in his last benediction of his sons, breaks in upon the prophetic blessings with this pious ejaculation, *I have waited for thy salvation, O Lord* †: which is supposed to respect the salvation of mankind by JESUS CHRIST. I grant it doth so in a *spiritual* sense; nay, for aught I know, it may in a *literal*. But how should an early Jewish Reader understand it in this sense, when the same terms of the *salvation of God*, or of the Lord, are perpetually employed, throughout the whole Bible, to signify God's temporal mercies to the Patriarchs and their Posterity; and when now, that the Mystery of the Gospel hath been so long revealed, Christian Commentators understand it in an hundred different senses?

4. BALAAM, under the influence of the Holy Spirit, says, *Let me die the death of the Righteous,*

* Chap. xi. ver. 13. † Gen. xlix. 18.

and

and let my last end be like his:* Which is understood as a wish that he might be partaker with the Righteous in another life. Had the apostate Prophet said, *Let me live the life of the Righteous*, it would have had a much fairer claim for such a meaning. As it is, Both the force of the words, and their relation to the context, restrain us to this literal meaning,—" Let me die in a mature old age, after a life of health and peace, with all my posterity flourishing about me: as was the lot of the righteous observers of the LAW." This vain wish, Moses, I suppose, recorded, that the subsequent account of his immature death in battle† might make the stronger impression on the serious Reader, to warn him against the impiety and folly of expecting the last reward of virtue for a life spent in the gratification of every corrupt appetite. But if any one will say, the words have, besides, a sublimer meaning, I have no reason to contend with him.

5. The next is a stricture of the LAW in Leviticus, urged by Dr. Stebbing in this manner, " Moses in- " forces the obedience of the Israelites upon this " consideration, *Ye shall therefore keep my statutes* " *and judgments, which if a man do he shall live in* " *them*‡. Here is a promise of life made to those " who should observe the statutes and judgments " which God gave them by his servant Moses; which " cannot be understood of this temporal life only, " because the best men were often cut off in the midst " of their days, and frequently suffered greater adver- " sities than the most profligate sinners. The Jews " therefore have constantly believed that it had a " respect to the life to come. When the lawyer in " the Gospel had made that most important de- " mand, *Master, what shall I do to inherit eternal*

* Numb. xxii. 10. † Ch. xxxi. ver. 8. ‡ Levit. xviii. 5.

" *life*,

" *life**, our blessed Lord refers him to what was " written in the Law; and, upon his making a sound " and judicious answer, approves of it; and for sa- " tisfaction to his question, tells him, *This do, and* " *thou shalt live.*"

The Objector would have the promise of *life* in Leviticus to signify *eternal life.* But St. Paul himself had long ago decided this question, and declared for the negative. A dispute arose between him, and the judaizing Christians, concerning *what it was which justified before God,* or intitled to that eternal life brought to light by the Gospel. They held it to be the *works of the Law* (believing perhaps, as the Objector assures us they did, that this text, in Leviticus, *had a respect to the life to come:*) St. Paul, on the contrary, affirms that it was *faith in Jesus the Messiah.* And thus he argues—" But no man is justified " by the Law in the sight of God, it is evident: for " *the just shall live by faith.* And the Law is not " of faith, but the man that *doth* them shall live in " them †."—As much as to say—" That no man can obtain eternal life by virtue of the *Law* is evident from one of your own Prophets [Hab.] who expressly holds, that *the just shall* LIVE *by* FAITH ‡. Now, by the *Law*, no rewards are promised to *faith*, but to *works only. The man that* DOTH *them* (says the Law in Levit. §) *shall live in them.*" Here then we see that this very text, which the Objector brings to prove that *eternal life was by the Law*, St. Paul urges, to prove that it *was not by the law.* Let us attend to the Apostle's argument. He is to shew that *justification,* or eternal life, is by *faith.* This he does even on the concession of a Jew, the Prophet Habbakkuk; who expressly owns it to be by *faith.* But the Law,

* Luke x. 25. † Gal. iii. 11, 12. ‡ Ch. ii. 4. § Ch. xviii. 5.

says

says the Apostle, attributes nothing to *faith*; but, to DEEDS only, *which if a man* DO *he shall live in them.* Now, if, by *life*, be here meant, as the objector supposes, *eternal life*, then St. Paul's argument does not come out as he intended it; namely, *that faith, and not the works of the Law, justifies*; but thus, that *both faith and the works of the Law justify*, which would have satisfied these Judaizers, as reconciling on their own prejudices Moses and Habakkuk; but would, by no means, have satisfied our Apostle; whose conclusion on this question, where discussed at large, in his Epistle to the Romans, is, *that a man is justified by faith* WITHOUT *the deeds of the Law**. The very drift of his argument therefore shews us, that he must necessarily understand the *life*, promised in this text of Leviticus, to be TEMPORAL *life only*. But charitably studious, as it were, to prevent all possible chance of our mistaking him on so important a point, He immediately subjoins, *Christ hath redeemed us from the curse of the Law*†. Now we know that our *redemption* by Christ was from that *death* which the first man brought into the world; the *curse* which he entailed upon his posterity. Therefore the transferring this term from Adam to the Law, shews plainly that in the Apostle's sentiments, the Law had no more a share in the redemption of fallen man than Adam himself had. Yet it is certain, that if the Law, when it said, *He who keeps these statutes and judgments shall live in them*, meant, *for ever*, it proposed the Redemption of Mankind as completely as the blessed Jesus himself did, when he said, *he that believeth in me shall have everlasting life.* This becomes demonstrable, if St. Paul's reasoning will hold, who surely had heard nothing of this prerogative of the *Law*,

* Rom. iii. 28. † Gal. iii. 13.

when he said, *If there had been a* LAW *given which could have given life, verily righteousness should have been by the Law.* Where observe, I pray you, the force of the word ζωοποιῆσαι, which signifies to *quicken*, or to *make alive*; plainly intimating the same he had said in the place quoted before, that those in subjection to the *Law* were under a *curse*, or in the state of *death*.—Let me add only this further observation, that if (as this Objector pretends) by *life* in the text of Levit. be meant *eternal life*; and if (as the Apostle pretends) by *life*, in the text of Habakkuk, be meant *eternal life*; then will *Moses* and *Habakkuk* be made directly to contradict one another; the first giving that *eternal life* to WORKS, which the latter gives to FAITH. But Dr. Stebbing would insinuate, that Jesus himself seems to have affixed this sense to the text in Leviticus; however, that the plain inference is that eternal life was *taught at least*, if not *obtained* by the Law. "When the Lawyer in the Gospel (says he) had made "that most important demand, *Master, what shall I* "*do to inherit eternal life* *? our blessed Lord refers "him to what was written in the Law, and upon his "making a sound and judicious answer, approves of "it; and for satisfaction to his question, tells him, "*This do and thou shalt live.*"—Would not any one now conclude, from the sense here put upon the words of Jesus, that the *sound and judicious answer* of the Lawyer must have been a quotation of the text in Leviticus,—*Ye shall keep my statutes, which if a man do he shall live in them*;—or at least some general promise made to the observers of the whole Law of Moses? No such matter. On the contrary, the Lawyer's answer was a quotation of only one precept of the Law, *Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart*, &c. *and thy neighbour as thyself.* Now

* Luke x. 25.

how

how much soever we may differ about a *future state's* being held out by the *Law*, through a Messiah to come, I suppose we are both agreed that *faith in the Messiah*, either actual or imputed, is necessary to obtain this *future state*. There are but two ways then of understanding this text of St. Luke, neither of which is to his purpose. The first is the supposing that Jesus included *faith in himself* in this precept of *loving God with all the heart*, &c. which will appear no forced interpretation to him who holds Jesus to be really and truly God; as, I imagine, the Doctor does; and may be supported by a circumstance in the story as told by St. Matthew *, though omitted by St. Luke, which is, Jesus's saying, *that on these two commandments hang all the Law and the* PROPHETS. The second and exacter interpretation is, that Jesus spoke to a professing follower, who pretended to acknowledge his Mission, and wanted only a RULE OF LIFE. For Jesus was here preaching the Gospel to his disciples, *and a Lawyer stood up and* TEMPTED *him*, that is, on the false footing of a disciple, required a rule of life. Now in either case, this reference of Jesus to the Law must imply this, and this only, *that without righteousness and holiness no man shall see the Lord.* A point in which, I suppose, we are agreed.—But still the Doctor will say that these words of Jesus *allude* to the words of Moses. Admit they do. It will not follow, as he seems to think, that they were given to *explain* them. How many allusions are there in the New Testament to passages in the Old, accommodated to a *spiritual* sense, where the texts alluded to are seen, by all but Fanatics, to have only a *carnal?* And even in this very allusion, if it be one, we find that the promise made to the observers of the whole Law is transferred

* Matt. xxii. 40.

to the observance of one single precept, in the moral part of it. But let us grant him all he would have; and admit that these words of Jesus were given to explain the words of Moses. What would follow from thence, but that the promise in Leviticus had a *secondary* sense of a *spiritual* and sublimer import? Will this give any advantage to the Doctor and his Party? Surely none at all. And yet the *abuse* of this concession is all they have to support themselves in their determined opposition to Common sense.

6. A Law in Leviticus is delivered in these terms,—"Whoever he be of the children of Israel, or of the "strangers that sojourn in Israel, that giveth any of "his seed unto Molech, he shall surely be put to "death*." Let me first explain the text, before I shew how it is perverted. There were two cases in which the offender here described might escape punishment:—Either the crime could not be legally proved, Or the Magistrate might be remiss in punishing. The divine Lawgiver obviates both: and declares that the Infanticide, in such case, shall suffer death by God's own hand in an extraordinary manner. The supplial of the first defect, is in these words,—"And I will set my face against the man, and will "CUT HIM OFF FROM AMONGST HIS PEOPLE†." The supplial of the second is in these:—"And if the "people of the land do any ways hide their eyes "from the man, when he giveth of his seed unto "Molech, and kill him not, then I will set my face "against that man and against his family, and will "CUT HIM OFF‡." So much for the *sense* of the text. And now for the *nonsense* of our Interpreter, a Professor of Law and Divinity, the egregious Dr. RUTHERFORTH. This sage provision for the execution

* Levit. xx. 2. † Ver. 3. ‡ Ver. 4, 5.

of

of the Law our Professor being totally unconscious of, he insists " that *cutting off from amongst his People* " can only mean eternal damnation, the being consigned " to a state of punishment in another life." p. 33. He is, as I say, a dealer both in Law and Divinity: but not having yet learnt the use of his tools, he confounds Law by Theology, and depraves Theology by Law: And of this the reader has already seen some delectable instances. But at present, to regulate a little his Law-ideas, let him turn to Exod. xii. 15. and Levit. vii. 25. and he will find that the *cutting off from Israel*, and *the cutting off from the People*, are phrases which signify only capital punishment of a civil kind. Unless he will suppose that what is there threatened for eating *leavened bread* and *prohibited fat*, is ETERNAL LIFE IN TORMENTS.

7. The PSALMIST, in a holy confidence of God's mercies, says, *Thou wilt not leave my soul in* HELL, *neither wilt thou suffer thy holy one to see corruption. Thou wilt shew me the path of life; in thy presence is fulness of joy, at thy right hand there are pleasures for evermore* *.—The scope of the whole Psalm is to implore the protection of God, from this consideration, that the Psalmist himself not only stedfastly adheres to the Law of God, but is ready to give his aid and support to all those who do—That the vengeance of God pursues idolatry, which he carefully avoids—That the *God of Israel* is his *portion*, and the *land of Canaan* a fair *inheritance*—That this stedfast adherence to the Lord is his confidence and peace—Then follow the words in question,—That he is sure, God *will not leave his soul in Hell*, &c. &c. that is, suffer him to fall immaturely, as was the lot of the transgressors of the Law:—And concludes, that walking in the law of God

* Psal. xvi. 10, 11.

is both the highest pleasure, and strongest security. All which is expressed in terms so magnificent, as to shew, indeed, that this Psalm hath a *spiritual* as well as *literal* meaning. And that spiritual meaning St. Peter hath explained to us * : Indeed, if Dr. Stebbing's word were to be taken, the Apostle hath explained it in a manner which overthrows all our reasoning. "St. Peter (says the Doctor) claims this passage "[Ps. xvi. 10, 11.] as relating to Christ's resurrec- "tion †." But how does he claim it? No otherwise than by giving it a *secondary sense*. Now the learned Doctor himself contends that the *secondary* sense of the Prophecies was purposely concealed and secreted from the Jewish Church: Consequently, the *Resurrection*, the very doctrine which the *secondary* sense of this text conveys, was secreted from it. But then, the Doctor says, that "in the *primary* sense David de- "clares his expectation of a future state, not in "consequence of any promise of the Law, but by "faith in Jesus Christ." The result then of the Doctor's exposition is this, That the same text may serve to prove that the spiritual sense of the Law *was and was not* revealed at this time. The verse has a primary sense which reveals a future state, and a secondary sense which hides and secretes it.—But he insists much upon the following words of the text—*In thy presence is fulness of joy, and at thy right hand are pleasures for evermore.* "Expressions, says the "Doctor, much too great to describe any WORLDLY "HAPPINESS ‡."—I readily confess it was no *worldly happiness* which is here described: for to be in the *presence of God* signified the same as to *appear before the Ark*, Ps. xvii. 15. and to enjoy *pleasures* there *for evermore*, the same as *dwelling in the house of the*

* Acts ii. 25—29. † Exam. p. 49. ‡ Id. ib.

Lord

Lord for ever, i. e. all his days, Ps. xxiii. 6. a *spiritual happiness*, sure, though enjoyed in this world.

But the texts of texts, the precious ones indeed, are those where a HELL is mentioned; as here—*thou shalt not leave my soul in Hell**. And of this orthodox consolation there is no scarcity in the Old Testament. Mr. Whiston assures us, *it is almost five times as often mentioned as in the New*. It may be so. However, instead of examining into the justness of this nice calculation, I shall chuse rather to consider what is to be understood by the word, than how often it is repeated. Now, I suppose neither I nor my Answerers can have any reasonable objection to St. John's authority in this matter; who speaking, in the book of Revelation, of the useless old furniture of the LAW, says—*and* DEATH *and* HELL *were cast into the* LAKE OF FIRE: *this is the second death*†. From hence it appears that the HELL of the Old Testament was a very different thing from the HELL of the New, called, the *lake of Fire*; since the one is made the punishment, or at least the extinction of the other. And to remove all doubt, the Apostle, we see, calls this *casting into the lake*, a *second death*. Must not then the *Lake* itself be a *second Hell?* And if so, could the *first* or the Old Testament HELL be any other than the GRAVE? The next words tell us, that *whosoever was not found written in the book of life, was cast into the lake of fire*‡. So that the sense of the whole seems to be this, that at the consummation of things (the subject here treated of) all physical and moral evil shall be abolished.

8. Again, The Psalmist says, "Deliver my soul "from the wicked—from the men of the world— "which *have their portion in this life*, and whose belly

* Psal. xvi. 10. † Ch. xx. 14. ‡ Ver. 15.

" thou fillest with thy hid treasure.—As for me, I will " behold thy face in righteousness: *I shall be satisfied,* " *when I awake, with thy likeness* *." Many moral and mystical commentators (and perhaps our English translators themselves, as one would think from the turn of their language) understood these words as literally pointing, in one verse, to a *future state*, and, in the other, to a *resurrection*. And in this, the dissenter, *Leland*, as I remember, in some of his things, seems much to triumph. But I shall shew that it means nothing less.

They have *their portion in* THIS *life*, say our translators, who, with great piety, had their heads full of ANOTHER. Whereas the original word literally signifies *in vitis*, the Hebrew being a plural word and having no singular: which, by the way, let me observe, is a convincing proof that the ideas of the common users of this language were only employed about this life; had they been conversant, like us, with another, they would soon have found a singular to their plural. This will be thought a strange Paradox by those I have to do with, who do not know that plural nouns are often words of amplification, not of number. As our translators render it, *in this life*, so the Chaldee Par. goes a step further, and renders it, *in life eternal*. The Sept. translators, who best understood their own idiom, interpret it better than either, ἐν τῇ ζωῇ αὐτῶν, *in this life of theirs*. So that the true meaning of what we turn, *their portion of this life*, amounts to this—*they are perfectly prosperous.*

And now, concerning the words in the other verse, *I shall be satisfied, when I awake, with thy likeness.*—For the sense of these I shall transcribe the following passage of an excellent Critic, and, what is more, a very orthodox Divine.—" The Chaldee," says

* Ps. xvii. 14, 15.

Dr.

Dr. Hammond, (and what sort of interpreters they were we have seen just above) " apply this *awaking* to " *David*;—*when I shall awake I shall be satisfied with* " *the glory of thy countenance.* And so it hath *truth*, " in respect of the resurrection of the just.—But all " the other interpreters agree to apply it to *this glory*; " ἐν τῷ ὀφθῆναι τὴν δόξαν σε, *at the appearing of thy* " *glory*, say the LXX.—*cum apparuerit gloria tua*, " says the Latin; (and so the Arabic and Æthiopic) " —*When thy fidelity shall awake*, saith the Syriac: " And so most probably it is to be understood. By " [*God's glory awaking*] signifying his glorious and " powerful interposition to David's PRESENT rescue " from his enemies hands.—And thus the learned " Castellio took it; tum satiandus, cum tua experrecta " fuerit imago; *I shall be satisfied when thy likeness* " *shall be awaked**." Other Interpreters, and those of the first Class, who make the *awaking* to refer to *David*, suppose it to signify his morning adorations before the Ark, the symbolic residence of the divine Presence †. But that David was here speaking in the language of the *Law*, and not of the *Gospel*, I think, all but determined Bigots will confess.

9. And again: *Surely goodness and mercy shall follow me all the days of my life, and I will dwell in the House of the Lord for ever* ‡. By the *house of the Lord* can be meant nothing else but the *Tabernacle* or the *Temple:* So that, *for ever*, or as the Heb. says, *to length of days*, must mean that mature old

* Annot. on the xviith Psalm.

† Videtur significare David arcam, quam singulis temporibus matutinis Deum adoraturus adibat. Cleric. in locum. Pro more Hebr. Poeseos, ipsum in Sanctuario quotidie in præsentia Dei ad arcam, quod divinæ præsentiæ symbolum erat, sese velle sistere, quod illi ante omnia in votis fuit, summoque gaudio perfudit. Hare in loc. ‡ Ps. xxiii. 6.

old age, which the Law promised to its faithful adherents.

10. In the xxxvi Psalm, the sacred Writer says: *For with thee is the fountain of life: in thy light shall we see light**. Here, to prove the *immortality* of Man, a text is produced, which teaches the *eternity of* GOD. But I know Some, who think there is a necessary connexion between these two truths.

11. "Like sheep (says the Psalmist) they [the "wicked] are laid in the grave, death shall feed upon "them; and the upright shall have dominion over "them in the morning, and their beauty shall consume "in the grave, from their dwelling. But God will "redeem my soul from the power of the grave, for "he shall receive me†." The literal meaning of which is, as appears by the context, that "the wicked should be untimely cut off and destroyed,—*in the morning*, that is, by the judgment of the Law, which was administered in the morning hours‡; but that his life, and the life of the upright, should be preserved and prolonged." Here, once for all, let me desire the Objectors to consider, What it is that is ever opposed (in the many passages of this sort) to *Life, Redemption*, &c. It is not *Misery, Torments*, &c. as it must have been, did *life* literally signify eternal life in a future state; but it is DEATH, which shews it was a *life here on earth.*

12. *Thou shalt guide me* (says he again) *with thy counsel, and afterwards receive me to glory*§. Or, as an excellent Critic has it, *Consilio tuo deduxisti me, & postea cum gloria excepisti me.* "Thou wast,

* Ver. 9. † Ps. xlix. 14, 15. or

‡ See Jerem. xxi. 12. "O house of David, thus saith the "Lord, *Execute judgment* IN THE MORNING, and deliver him that "is spoiled, out of the hand of the oppressor, let my fury go out "like fire,—because of the evil of your doings."

§ Ps. lxxiii. 24.

or shalt be, always present with me in difficulties and distresses; and shalt lead and conduct me to better fortunes." This literal sense the context requires.

13. "But the mercy of the Lord is from everlast-" ing to everlasting upon them that fear him, and " his righteousness unto children's children; to such " as keep his covenant, and to those that remember " his commandments to do them *." This is so far from intimating a *future state*, that it is the very temporal promise annexed to the second Law of the Decalogue—*Shewing mercy unto thousands of them that love me, and keep my commandments* †.

14.—*For* THERE *the Lord commanded the blessing, even life for evermore* ‡.—Where? In the *habitation* of *brethren living together in unity*. Nothing else then can be meant, but that death and dangers should not approach a house so strongly united in itself.

15. In the book of Proverbs it is said—" The " wicked is driven away in his wickedness: BUT THE " RIGHTEOUS HATH HOPE IN HIS DEATH §." That is, " the righteous hath hope that he shall be delivered from the most imminent dangers." So the Psalmist—*upon them that hope in his mercy; to deliver their soul from death, and to keep them alive in famine* ‖.—And again, *Thou hast delivered my soul from death; Wilt not thou deliver my feet from falling, that I may walk before God in the light of the living* ¶?

16. And again—*The way of life is above to the wise, that he may depart from Hell beneath* **. That is, The wise man prolongs his days here on earth, and escapes that untimely death which attends vice and folly. A Doctrine perpetually inculcated throughout

* Ps. ciii. 17, 18. † Exod. xx. 6. ‡ Ps. cxxxiii. 3.
§ Ch. xiv. 32. ‖ Ps. xxxiii. 18, 19. ¶ Ps. lvi. 13.
** Prov. xv. 24.

this

this book; as at chap. x. ver. 2. 28. chap. xi. ver. 7. chap. xii. ver. 28. chap. xxi. ver. 16.

And again, "When a wicked man dieth, his EXPECTATION shall perish; and the hope of unjust "men perisheth *." And again,—"So shall the "knowledge of wisdom be unto thy soul: when thou "hast found it, then there shall be a reward, and "thy EXPECTATION shall not be cut off †." In the first of these two places it appears by the context (that is, by the whole tenor of these moral precepts and aphorisms) that the *expectation which should deceive* is that of worldly wicked men to establish a house in their posterity: And in the second, the *expectation which should not deceive* is that of wise and virtuous men in the success of their honest endeavours. But there is one common fallacy which runs through all the reasoning of these Anti-critics: it is this, that having taken the point in question [whether a future state be taught in the Old Testament] for granted, they confine all expressions, capable of either sense considered alone, to the sense which supports their own opinion. Whereas, while the matter is in question, fair reasoning requires, that such Texts be considered as indifferent to either sense, till determined by the Context, and according to the Analogy of the *Law and the Prophets*.

17. We conclude with the PREACHER, who says, that *Wisdom giveth life to them that have it* ‡: And so says the Law of Moses likewise (which is here alluded to) and yet it gives nothing but the things of *this life*.

18. Again: "Though a sinner do evil an hundred "times, and his days be prolonged, yet surely I know "that it shall be well with them that fear GOD §."

* Prov. xi. 7.
† Prov. xxiv. 14.
‡ Eccl. vii. 12.
§ Ch. viii. ver. 12.

What

What is meant by this, the very following words declare: *But it shall not be well with the wicked, neither shall he prolong his days, which are as a shadow; because he feareth not before God**.—That is, though the wicked be suffered to go on for some time, yet for all that, Vengeance shall overtake and arrest him in the middle of his course †.

19. And again—" Rejoice, O young man, in thy " youth, and let thy heart cheer thee in the days of " thy youth, and walk in the ways of thy heart, and " in the sight of thine eyes: but know thou, that for " all these things God will bring thee into judgment. " Therefore remove sorrow from thy heart, and put " away evil from thy flesh; for childhood and youth " are vanity ‡." That is, " in giving an innocent and lawful indulgence to thy Youth, take heed lest thou transgress the bounds of virtue and piety. For know, that GOD will certainly punish thy offences, either in thy own Person, or in thy Posterity."

These are all the passages of moment (till we come to the PROPHETS) which I could find have been objected to the Opinion, *That a future state of reward and punishment is not in the Mosaic Dispensation.* By which it appears, that the Objectors have been very inattentive to what an Interpreter of the Old Testament should have his thoughts constantly attached, namely to these three things; to the CONTEXT; to the genius of the EASTERN STYLE; and to the economy under which the early Hebrews lived, that is to say, an EXTRAORDINARY PROVIDENCE. But this last fault, though the most inexcusable of all, they all have in common with the late Jewish Writers; who, considering only the Dispensation under which them-

* Eccl. viii. 13. † See note [GG] at the end of this volume.
‡ Chap. xi. ver. 9, *& seq.*

selves

selves lived, thought it harsh and unnatural to interpret these Texts with reference to worldly good and evil, which they saw unequally distributed.

On the whole therefore it appears, that all these passages, in their obvious and *primary* sense, relate to the *things of this life*; and that some of them are expressed by the Holy Spirit in such a manner, as makes it now evident, they had likewise a *spiritual* and sublimer meaning, and do indeed refer to the completion of the Law, by the Gospel.

The Texts here examined are urged in common both by Jews and Christians. But, besides these, the Jews have a set of Texts peculiar to themselves; which the Christians have never yet ventured to put upon Duty. As they are most of them of the nature of *Riddles*, Riddles. for me, they shall remain: only, for the curious Reader's satisfaction, I shall mark out what the Rabbins bring from the PENTATEUCH to prove the *immortality of the soul, and the Resurrection of the body*, as they are collected by the learned Manasseh Ben-Israel, in his tract *De Resurrectione Mortuorum*. For the IMMORTALITY, 1 Kings i. 31. Psal. cxvi. 7, 8, 9. Exod. xix. 6. chap. xxxiii. ver. 20. Levit. vii. 25. Deut. xiv. 1, 2. chap. xxii. ver. 7. chap. xxxii. ver. 47. — For the RESURRECTION, Gen. iii. 19. chap. xxxvii. ver. 10. Exod. xv. 6. Levit. xxv. Numb. xv. 30. chap. xviii. ver. 28. Deut. iv. 4. chap. xxxii. ver. 39. chap. xxxiii. ver. 6. But though the reader will find many diverting things on this head in Manasseh Ben-Israel, yet they must all give place to the curious comment of Rabbi Tanchum on the following words of 1 Sam. xxv. 29. *The soul of my Lord shall be bound in the bundle of life with the* LORD *thy* GOD: *and the souls of thine enemies, them shall he sling out, as out of the middle of a*

sling. Sententia est omnium Interpretum (says this profound Rabbi) quod ad hunc textum, esse ipsum per modum commonitionis [quâ declaratur] quisnam futurus sit animæ status, et ad quid tandem deventura sit, postquam à corpore separata fuerit; atque ostendere *duplicem* esse ipsi statum, viz. quibusdam animabus esse gradum sublimem et locum stabilem, apud Dominum suum, dum vitâ immortali fruantur, nec morti nec perditioni obnoxiæ: aliis autem ludere fluctus naturæ, adeo ut requiem et consistendi locum non inveniant, verum *dolores perpetuos* et *cruciatus continuos*, cum *æterna duratione*, instar lapidis, qui è fundâ projectus circumrotatur in aëre pro ratione virium jacientis, dein vi sua naturali gravitate in terram decidit. Animæ vero nec inest gravitas quæ ipsam deorsum, nec levitas quæ sursum ferat; ideoque in perpetua est confusione, perturbatione, tristitia, et dolore usque *in æternum*. Atque hæc reverâ sententia est SAPIENTUM et PHILOSOPHORUM.—How profound a Doctrine! and how noble an original! But this is not the first, by a thousand, which has been raised from a Metaphor, out of the hot-bed of theologic *wisdom and philosophy*. An abuse, that some cooler thinkers of late have fancied they could never get well rid of, till they had turned the few *Doctrines* of true Christianity back again into *Metaphors*. And they have succeeded to admiration.

SECT. IV.

WE come at length to the texts of the NEW TESTAMENT, which are urged to prove, against itself, that *Life and Immortality was brought to light* by the OLD.

I. The first is that famous argument of JESUS against the Sadducees;—*Jesus answered and said unto them,*

*them, Ye do err, not knowing the Scriptures, nor the power of God.—But as touching the Resurrection of the dead, Have ye not read that which was spoken unto you by God, saying, I am the God of Abraham, and the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob? God is not the God of the dead, but of the living**. Now this very Text, had it been impartially considered, would alone have been sufficient to convince these Answerers of the truth here contended for. At least it convinced a much wiser man, the excellent HUGO GROTIUS, whose words to his friend Ger. Vossius are as follow: "In Mosis lege (non dico in veteri Testamento: nam "de Prophetis, præsertim posterioribus, res longe alia "est) æternæ vitæ non fieri mentionem nisi per um-"bras, aut rationis consequentiam, certissimum mihi "videtur, Christi authoritate, qui Sadducæos *non* "*verbis directis, sed ratiocinando* refellit†." There is not, I repeat it, any plain Text in the whole Bible (and this is amongst the plainest) so strangely mistaken and perverted: For, 1. The appellation of *the* GOD *of Abraham, &c.* is generally understood to be quoted by our

* Matt. xxii. 29—32.

† Ep. 130. ed. Am. 1687. EPISCOPIUS had the very same idea of this argument—"Et sane opinionum, quæ inter Judæos erat, circa vitam futuri sæculi discrepantia arguit promissiones Lege factas tales esse ut ex iis certi quid de vita futuri sæculi non possit colligi. Quod et Servator noster non obscure innuit, cum resurrectionem mortuorum colligit, *Matt.* xxii. non ex promisso aliquo Legi addito, sed ex generali tantum illo promisso Dei, quo se Deum Abrahami, Isaaci, & Jacobi futurum spoponderat: quæ tamen illa collectio magis nititur cognitione intentionis divinæ sub generalibus istis verbis occultatæ aut comprehensæ, de qua Christo certo constabat, quam necessaria consequentia sive verborum vi ac virtute manifestâ qualis nunc et in verbis Novi Testamenti, ubi vita æterna & resurrectio mortuorum proram et puppim faciunt totius Religionis Christianæ, et tam clare ac diserte promittuntur ut ne hiscere quidem contra quis possit." Inst. Theol. lib. iii. § 1. c. 2.

our blessed Lord, as a direct proof * of the *Resurrection of the dead body*, in the same manner that St. Paul urges the case of JESUS:—*But now is Christ risen from the dead, and become the first fruits of them that slept* †. But can any thing be more irrational or absurd? The bodies of Abraham and the Patriarchs were yet in dust, and reduced to their primitive earth. So that in this sense, the reasoning is so far from proving *that God* WAS NOT *the God of the dead*, that it proves, *he was*. For Abraham's body continued yet lifeless at the very time when God was called his *God:* Whatsoever was to be the future condition of it, that could not influence the present appellation of the God of Israel. What hath led men into this mistake is the introduction to the argument,—*But as touching the resurrection of the dead*,—which they supposed an exordium to a *direct* proof: Whereas it is an intimation only, to what an *indirect* proof tended; namely, that the *Resurrection of the body* might be inferred through the medium of the *separate existence of the soul*; which was the only point Jesus proposed to prove *directly* to them. The case stood thus: He was here arguing against the SADDUCEES. Now these supported their opinion, of *no resurrection of the body*, on a principle that *the soul had no separate existence*, but fell into nothing at the dissolution of its union with the body; which Principle once over-

* Mr. Le Clerc, in his Defense des Sentimens sur l'Histoire Critique, has fallen into this mistake.—Nôtre Seigneur presse ces termes, en sorte qu'il suppose qu'il ne faut qu'entendre la langue dans laquelle l'Ecriture parle pour *reconnoitre la Resurrection*, Matt. xxii. 31.—Il ne faut que lire ce raisonnement de Jesus Christ, pour sentir qu'il est tiré de cette expression, *être le Dieu de quelqu'un*, que l'on ne pourroit appliquer à Dieu, si celui, dont on dit qu'il est le Dieu, etoit *mort sans devoir jamais resusciter.* pp. 102, 103.

† 1 Cor. xv. 20.

thrown, they had nothing left to oppose to the writings of the Prophets, or the preaching of JESUS. Against this principle therefore our blessed Lord thus divinely argues :—" But as concerning the Resurrection of the dead, You ground your denial of it on this supposition, that the soul dies with the body; but you err as much in not knowing the Scriptures, as in not rightly conceiving of the power of God. For the words of the Law, which you allow to be a good authority, directly prove that the soul doth not die with the body, but hath a separate existence. Now Moses tells us, that God, long after the death of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, called himself *their God:* But God *is not the God of the dead, but of the living*; therefore the souls of those Patriarchs are yet existing in a separate state."—This is the force of the argument *.

2. The second mistake is, that JESUS, by these words, insinuates that Moses CULTIVATED the Doctrine of a *Resurrection*, or a *Future state*. But here again the Objectors seem to forget, against whom the argument is addressed, the SADDUCEES. Now these not only held that Moses did *not teach*, but that he did NOT BELIEVE that Doctrine. This was the error JESUS aimed to confute; and only this; because the opinion that Moses did not *teach* or *cultivate* it, was no error at all, as appears, amongst many other reasons, even from hence: that the Jews might reasonably understand the title of the *God of Abraham, &c.* to mean the peculiar tutelary God of Abraham's Family; for the terms *Jacob* and *Israel* are frequently used in Scripture for the whole nation of the Jews; *Aaron* for the whole order of the priesthood; *Dan, Judah, &c.* for the whole body of each Tribe: And, as in reason they *might*, so by the History of the early

* See note [HH] at the end of this volume.

Jews,

Jews, we find in fact, they *did* understand it in this sense.

The real force therefore of the text, here urged, amounts to this, from JESUS's argument it appears, that the separate existence of the soul might be fairly inferred from the writings of Moses: Which inference I not only grant some early Jews did make, but have proved likewise; though not indeed from these words, for the reason given above. And so much my Answerers might have understood, had they only observed that this has all the marks of a new Argument *, unknown to the Pharisees; as indeed both the dignity of our Lord's character, and the impression he would make on his Opposers, seemed to require it should be. Accordingly we find they are struck dumb; and *the multitude that heard this, astonished at his doctrine* †. But would Either of them have been so affected with an old foundered argument, long hacknied in the Schools and Synagogues ‡ of the Pharisees? Nay, how should it be otherwise than NEW? for the words, *I am the God of Abraham*, &c. as delivered by Moses, were supposed, both by Pharisees and Sadducees, to be spoken of a NATIONAL GOD; as in Gen. xvii. 8, 9. xxvi. 3. xxviii. 13. They therefore could not see how it implied the continued existence of the Patriarch Abraham, &c. But Jesus, in using the word GOD, to signify the Maker and Lord of all things, rightly inferred that the Patriarchs still continued to exist. I am not ignorant, that the modern Rabbins employed this argument very familiarly for a *Resurrection*; but

* See note [II] at the end of this volume. † Matt. xxii. 33.

‡ The learned Pocock, speaking of this Argument, says, His e Lege depromptis cum Sadducæos ad silentium adegisset Christus, dicitur perculsam fuisse turbam doctrinâ ejus. Unde patet luculentio i ipsum contra eos argumento usum, quam ullo adhuc usi fuerant Pharisæi. Notæ miscell. ad Portam Mosis, cap. vi.

they borrowed it from the GOSPEL, as they have done many other things; the reason of which, our rabbinical Commentators, such as Lightfoot, not apprehending, have supposed the *borrowing* to be all on the side of the lenders: but more of this matter in its place.

Thus much for this celebrated Text. In which, however, the learned Dr. Sherlock, the late Bishop of London, finds enough to support himself in his own opinion, *That the Law of Moses afforded a good proof of a future state to the ancient Jews* *. But to whom did it afford this proof? To the ancient Jews, who understood the words in the text, in question, to relate to a *national God*; or to us Christians, who understand them of the Creator of the Universe? Now though I cannot agree with his Lordship in this conclusion, yet I agree with him in a better thing, which is, *That the Law of Moses affords a good proof of its own divinity*; indeed, by a medium his Lordship never thought of, namely, *That it afforded no proof of a future state at all.* But what if his Lordship meant no more than what his respectable Father endeavoured to prove †, viz. that the EXTRAORDINARY PROVIDENCE (which I hold to be the very circumstance which kept the Jews from the knowledge of a future state) indeed shews that they had the knowledge of it? If this be the case, all I have to say is, that Their proof of a *future state* from the LAW, begins just where my proof of its *divinity* ends.

II. We come next to the Parable of the *rich Man and Lazarus*; where the former, being in Hell, desires Abraham, whom he saw afar off in Paradise, to send Lazarus to his father's house, to testify to his Brethren,

* Sermons by the Bishop of London.

† Sermons by the Dean of St. Paul's, on the *Immortality of the Soul and a Future State*, p. 141.

and

and to lead them to repentance, lest they too should come into that place of torment: To which Abraham replies: *If they hear not Moses and the Prophets, neither will they be persuaded, though one rose from the dead**. Hence it is inferred, that both Moses and the Prophets *taught a future state of Rewards and Punishments*. But, here again, the Objectors are quite beside the matter. As, in the former case, they would not see, the argument was directed against the SADDUCEES; so here, by as perverse a connivance, they will not reflect, that this Parable is addressed to the PHARISEES. It is certain we must judge of the drift and design of every rational discourse from the Character of those to whom it is addressed. Now had this Parable been told to the Sadducees, whose grand error it was, to deny a future state of rewards and punishments; and had the rich man been represented as a Sadducee, who was too late convinced of his mistake, and wanted to undeceive his father's house, which his evil DOCTRINES had perverted; had this, I say, been the case, there might have been some ground for the Objector's inference, which I suppose to be this, That "it appears as plainly from Moses "and the Prophets, that there is a future state of "rewards and punishments, as if one came back from "that state to tell us so." On the contrary, the Parable was particularly addressed to the Pharisees, the great patrons of a future state, and who sedulously taught it in opposition to the Sadducees. It is introduced in this manner: *And the* PHARISEES *also, who were* COVETOUS [φιλαργυροι], *heard all these things: and they derided him*†. For which they are thus reproved: *Ye are they which justify yourselves before men; but God knoweth your hearts*‡. And then

* Luke xvi. 31. † Ver. 14. ‡ Ver. 15.

presently follows the parable. Their capital errors therefore were errors of PRACTICE, *Avarice* and *Luxury*. And it was to reform these, that a *rich Pharisee* is represented as without any compassion for the poor, living in all kind of delicacy, and dying impenitent. This man, when he comes in the other world, finds so ill a reception there, wants one to be sent to his brethren (who believed, doubtless, as he did, the *Doctrine of a future state)* to warn them of their evil ways, and to assure them, that luxury and inhumanity, unrepented of, would assuredly damn them. Which information, he thought, would be best inforced by a Miracle: *If one went unto them from the dead, they will* REPENT*. (Where observe, it is not—*they will* BELIEVE.) To this common mistake, Abraham's reply is extremely pertinent: *If they hear not Moses and the Prophets, neither will they be persuaded, though one rose from the dead:* i. e. "If they will not hear Moses, and the Prophets, whose authority they acknowledge †, and whose missions were confirmed by so many and well-attested Miracles, neither will they regard a new one, of the resurrection of a dead man. (Nor, in fact, were the Pharisees at all softened into repentance by the return of that Lazarus, the namesake of this in the parable, whom Jesus raised from the dead.) Now Moses and the Prophets have denounced the most severe threatenings, on the part of God, against vice and impenitence." This is the force of the argument; in which we see the question of a *future state* is no more concerned, than thus far only, that God will punish, either *here* or *hereafter*. Moses and the Prophets threatened the punishment here; and, while here it was executed, the Jews looked no farther: But when the *extraor-*

* Ver. 30. † See note [KK] at the end of this volume.

dinary

dinary Providence, by which that punishment was administered, had ceased, the Jews began, from those very promises and denunciations, to entertain some hopes of an *hereafter*, where all inequalities should be set even, and God's threats and promises executed to the full: though still, with less confidence, if they reasoned rightly, than the Pagans had to draw the same conclusion from the same principles; since their Law had informed them of a truth unknown to the rest of mankind; namely, that the whole Race was condemned to a state of death and mortality, a return to dust from whence Man was taken, for the transgression of Adam. So that all which good logic or criticism will authorize the believers of a future state to draw from this parable, is this, "that God is a "severe punisher of unrepentant luxury and inhu- "manity."

But now admit the mistaken interpretation of the Objectors; and what will follow! *That Moses taught a future state*, the Proposition, I oppose? No; But that from *Moses and the Prophets together* a future state might be collected. A Proposition, I have no occasion to oppose. For when the *Prophets* are joined to *Moses*, and have explained the *spiritual* meaning of his Law, and developed the hidden sense of it, I may well allow that from both together a learned Pharisee might collect the truth of the doctrine, without receding one tittle from my Argument.

III. "When the Lawyer in the Gospel (say these "Objectors) had made that most important Demand*, "*Master, what shall I do to inherit eternal life*, our "blessed Lord refers him to what was *written in the* "*Law:* and upon his giving a sound and judicious "answer, approves of it, and for satisfaction to his

* Luke x. 25.

" question, tells him, *This do and thou shalt live.*" This is the objection. And to this, Saint Paul shall give an answer—*Is the* LAW *then* AGAINST *the promises of God? God forbid. For if there had been a Law given which could have given Life, verily righteousness should have been by the Law. But the Scripture hath concluded all under sin; that the promise by* FAITH *of Jesus Christ might be given to them that believe**. We must therefore think that this Lawyer was better at distinctions than the Objector who brings him into his Cause, and inquired, *(in this most important demand)* of the AGENDA, not of the CREDENDA, in order to salvation. And so his words bear witness—*What shall I* DO *to be saved?*

IV. In what follows, I hardly think the Objectors can be serious. *Search the Scriptures* (says JESUS to the Jews) *for in them* YE THINK YE HAVE *eternal life,* —ὅτι ὑμεῖς δοκεῖτε ἐν αὐταῖς ζωὴν αἰώνιον ἔχειν—*and they are they which testify of me. And ye will not come to me, that ye* MIGHT HAVE LIFE †. The homicide ‡ Jews, to whom these words are addressed, THOUGHT *they had eternal life in their Scriptures;*—THEREFORE (say the Objectors) *they had eternal Life.* If I allow this *therefore*, they must allow me, another—THEREFORE the Mission of JESUS was vain, being anticipated by that of Moses, *who brought life and immortality to light by the* LAW.—*And if righteousness came by the Law* (says the Apostle) *then is Christ dead in vain.* This is a necessary consequence from the Objectors' interpretation, and gives us, to be sure, a very high idea of the reasoning of the ever blessed JESUS.—By the same Art of inferring, I suppose too they will conclude, that, when St. Paul says to the unbelieving Jew—*And thou art confident that*

* Gal. iii. 21, 22. † John v. 39, 40. ‡ Ver. 16.

thou

thou thyself art a guide to the blind, a light of them which are in darkness, an instructor of the foolish, and a teacher of babes *; they will conclude, I say, that THEREFORE it was the Jew, and not St. Paul, who was indeed, *the guide of the blind, a light of them which are in darkness, an instructor of the foolish, and a teacher of babes.* In earnest, if JESUS, in these words, taught that the Jewish Scriptures gave *eternal life*, (and the Jews could not have what their Scriptures did not give) he certainly taught a very different doctrine from St. PAUL, who expressly tells us, That IF THERE HAD BEEN a LAW GIVEN WHICH COULD HAVE GIVEN LIFE, VERILY RIGHTEOUSNESS SHOULD HAVE BEEN BY THE LAW †. All therefore that these words of Jesus teach us is, that the Jews THOUGHT *they had eternal life by the Mosaic Dispensation.* For the truth of what is thus charged upon them, we have the concurrent testimony of the Apostles; Who wrote large portions of their EPISTLES to prove, not only that they *thought* so, but that they were greatly mistaken in so thinking. For the Author of the epistle to the Hebrews says, that *unto the Angels* [who delivered the Law to Moses] *hath he* [God] *not put in subjection the* WORLD TO COME, *whereof* WE *speak* ‡.

But though we should suppose, the words—*ye think ye have eternal life*, considered separately, did not necessarily imply that these were *only* their thoughts, yet being opposed to the following words, *Ye will not come to me that ye* MIGHT HAVE LIFE, (Καὶ οὐ θέλετε ἐλθεῖν πρός με, ἵνα ζωὴν ἔχητε,) they shew, that whoever *thought* so besides, it was not JESUS, whose argument stands thus—"The Scriptures, I affirm, and am ready to prove, do testify of me. What reason then have

* Rom. ii. 19. † Gal. iii. 21. ‡ Chap. ii. ver. 5.

you

you to disown my character? it cannot surely be, because I preach up a *new* Doctrine of life and immortality. For you yourselves teach that doctrine: and what is more, you understand several passages in your own Scriptures, to signify *eternal life*; which I own, in their *spiritual* meaning do so. Now that life which you think you HAVE by your Scriptures, but HAVE NOT, do I here offer unto you, THAT YE MIGHT indeed HAVE LIFE." But if men had duly considered this discourse of Jesus to the unbelieving Jews, they would have seen the main drift and purpose of it was to rectify this fatal mistake of theirs, in *thinking they had eternal life in their Scriptures.* In one place he tells them, that those who *heard his word had passed from* DEATH *to life**. And again, *the hour is coming, and now is, when the* DEAD *shall hear the voice of the Son of God*†. Where, by *Death* and the *Dead*, is meant the condition of those under the *Law*, subject to the condemnation of mortality.

V. The Objectors have produced St. Paul likewise to confute the Principle here laid down. This Apostle, in his epistle to the Romans, says—"For as many as "have sinned without Law, shall also perish without "law: and *as many as have sinned in the Law, shall "be judged by the Law*‡." Now, say the Objectors, "had the Law concealed a future state from the Jews, it is plain they were not equitably dealt with, since they were to be judged in a future state." This brings to mind an objection of Lord Bolingbroke's against the divinity of Moses's Law; and the answer which this text enabled me to give to Him, will shew, that in these words of St. Paul, the Objectors have chosen the most unlucky text for their purpose in the whole New Testament. His Lordship's objection is in these words,

* John v. 24. † Ver. 25. ‡ Chap. ii. ver. 12.

"If

" If Moses knew that crimes were to be punished in " another life, he deceived the people [in not ac- " quainting them with the doctrine of a *future state*]. " If he did not know it, I say it with horror, that " God deceived both him and them.—The Israelites " had better things to hope, and worse to fear," &c. Now not to repeat what has been replied to this impious charge, elsewhere*, I will only observe, that the words of St. Paul above are a full confutation of it, where he says, that *as many as have sinned in the Law, shall be judged by the Law:* that is, shall be judged on the principles of a Law which denounced punishment to vice, and reward to virtue. Those who had already received the punishment which that Law denounced should be *judged* to have done so; those, who in the times of the gradual decay of the *extraordinary* providence had escaped or evaded punishment, should have it hereafter. Nothing is clearer than this interpretation. For observe, I pray you, the difference of the predication between wicked men *without the Law*, and the wicked men *under the Law*. The first *shall perish*, ἀπολεῖται: the second *shall be judged*, κριθήσονται, *or brought to trial*. For though κρίνω be often used in the New Testament for καλακρίνω, yet it is plain, that it is not so used here, both from the sense of the place, and the Apostle's change of terms, for which I think no good reason can be assigned but this, that κριθήσονται is opposed to ἀπολεῖται. From all this, I think, it appears, that my Objectors were as much mistaken in their urging this text against my principles, as the noble Lord in supposing that the reality of a *future state* was a condemnation of the equity of the Law. But both took it for granted, and

* See A View of Lord Bolingbroke's Philosophy, vol. xii. pp. 260, &c. of this Edition.

foolishly

foolishly enough, that those who did not live under the sanction of a future state could never, consistently with justice, be summoned before the Tribunal there erected.

II.

We are now got to the very *Palladium* of the cause, the famous eleventh chapter to the Hebrews: where it is said, that by FAITH, Abel, Enoch, Noah, Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, Joseph, Moses, &c. performed all their acceptable works—That *they looked for an heavenly city*—That *they saw the Promises afar off, and were persuaded of them, and embraced them, and desired an heavenly country*—That *they all died in faith*—That *Moses esteemed the reproach of* CHRIST *greater riches than the treasures of Egypt*—That *by faith the Jewish leaders did all their great and marvellous works*—That *their very women despised death, in hopes to obtain a part in the resurrection of the just*—And that *all these obtained a good report* THROUGH FAITH.—This, say the Objectors, plainly shews, that a future state of Rewards and Punishments, or more properly, the Christian Doctrine of *Life and Immortality*, was taught by the LAW.—To which I answer,

1. That if this be true, the eleventh chapter directly contradicts all the rest of the Epistle: In which, as we have shewn, there are more express declarations, that life and immortality was not known or taught by the Law, than in all the other books of the New Testament besides. And for which, indeed, a very good reason may be assigned, as it was solely addressed to the Jews, amongst whom this fatal prejudice, that *a future state was taught by the Law*, was then, and has continued ever since to be, the strongest impediment to their Conversion. For is it possible, that a Writer, who had said, that *the Law made nothing*

perfect, but the BRINGING IN OF A BETTER HOPE DID;—That CHRIST *hath obtained a more excellent ministry than* MOSES, *by how much also he is the* MEDIATOR OF A BETTER COVENANT, *which is established upon* BETTER PROMISES;—That *the* LAW WAS ONLY A SHADOW OF GOOD THINGS TO COME, *and not the very image*; is it possible, I say, that such a Writer should forget himself before he came to the end of his Epistle, and, in contradiction to all this, affirm that *Life and Immortality was known and taught under the Law?* We may venture to say then, that this eleventh chapter must have a very different meaning. Let us see if we can find it out: and sure it requires no great search.

2. The whole argument of the Epistle to the Hebrews is directed against Jews and judaizing Christians. The point in difference was this: The Gospel taught JUSTIFICATION BY FAITH: The Judaizers thought it must needs be by WORKS. One consequence of which, in their opinion, was, that the Law of Moses was still in force. They had no more conception than our modern Socinians and Freethinkers, that there could be any merit in FAITH or Belief, where the understanding was unavoidably determined by evidence. The Reader sees then, that the dispute was not whether *faith in Moses* or *faith in* JESUS made men acceptable to GOD; but whether *works* or the *act of believing*; consequently, where the Apostle shews it was *faith*, or the *act of believing*, he must mean *faith* in the generic sense, not in the specific, i.e. he did not mean *faith in Jesus:* for the Jews, even that part of them which embraced JESUS as the Messiah, denied it to be any kind of *faith* whatsoever. On the contrary, had they held *justification* to be by *faith* in Moses, and not in JESUS, then it had been the

the Apostle's business to prove, that it was the *specific faith in* JESUS. But as the dispute stood, all he had to do was to prove that it was *the act of believing*, and not *works*, which justified. And this we find he does with infinite address; by shewing, that that thing which made all the Patriarchs before the Law, and all the Rulers and Prophets under the Law, acceptable to GOD, was not *works*, but *faith*. But then what kind of *faith?* Doubtless *faith in God's promises:* for he is arguing on their own concessions. They admitted their ancestors to have had *that* faith*: they did not admit that they had faith *in* CHRIST. For the Apostle therefore to assert this, had been a kind of begging the question. Thus we see that not only the pertinency, but the whole force of the reasoning turns upon our understanding *faith*, in this chapter, to mean *faith in the God of their fathers.*

But the Apostle's own definition of the word puts the matter out of question. We have said, the dispute between him and the Jewish Converts necessarily required him to speak of the efficacy of *faith* in the generic sense. Accordingly his *definition* of FAITH is, that it is THE SUBSTANCE OF THINGS HOPED FOR, THE EVIDENCE OF THINGS NOT SEEN †. Not of *faith in the Messiah*, but of belief in general, and on good grounds. Indeed very general, according to this Writer; not only *belief* of the future, but the past. It is, says he, *the substance of things hoped for;* and this he illustrates by Noah's reliance on GOD's promise to save him in the approaching deluge ‡. It is, again, *the evidence of things not seen;* and this he illustrates by our belief that *the worlds were framed*

* Thus their Prophet Habakkuk had said, *The just shall live by his faith*, chap. ii. ver. 4.

† Heb. xi. 1. ‡ Ver. 7.

by

*by the word of God**. Having defined what he means by *faith*, he next proceeds to shew its nature by its common efficacy, which still relates only to faith in the generic sense—*But without faith it is impossible to please him* [GOD], *for he that cometh to God must believe that he is, and that he is a rewarder of them that diligently seek him*†; which very *faith* he immediately illustrates by that of Noah, Abraham, Sarah, Isaac, Jacob, Joseph, and Moses. And that no doubt might remain, he farther illustrates it by the *faith* of the Jewish People passing the Red Sea, and encompassing the walls of Jericho; and by the *faith* of Rahab the harlot. But was any of this, the *faith* in JESUS the Messiah? or a belief of a future state of rewards and punishments?

As here the Apostle tells us of the great *rewards of faith*, so in his third chapter he speaks of the *punishment of unbelief*; which was the shutting out a whole generation from the land of Canaan, and suffering them to perish in the Wilderness: *So we see* (says he) *they could not enter in because of unbelief*‡. But was this *unbelief* want of faith in the Messiah, or any thing but want of faith in the promise of the God of Israel, who assured them that he would drive out the Canaanite from before them? Lastly, to evince it impossible that *faith in the Messiah* should be meant by the *faith* in this eleventh chapter, the Apostle expressly says, that all those to whom he assigns this faith, HAD NOT RECEIVED THE PROMISE§. Therefore they could not have *faith* in that which was never yet proposed to them for the object of *faith*: *For how should they believe in him of whom they have not heard?* says the Apostle.

* Heb. xi. 3.
† Ver. 6.
‡ Ver. 19.
§ Ver. 13 & 39.

St. Paul

St. Paul had the same argument to manage in his Epistle to the Galatians; and he argues, from the advantages of *faith* or *belief in God*, in the very same manner. But of his argument, more in the next section.

Let us observe farther, that the sacred Writers not only use the word *faith* in its *generic* sense of *believing on reasonable grounds*; but likewise the word GOSPEL (a more appropriated term) for *good tidings in general*. Thus this very Writer to the Hebrews—*For unto us was the* GOSPEL *preached as well as unto them**, i.e. the *Israelites*.

Having shewn, that by the *Faith*, here said to be so extensive amongst the Jewish People, is meant *faith in those promises of God* which related to their own Dispensation, all the weight of this objection is removed. For as to the *promises seen afar off and believed and embraced*, which gave the prospect of a *better country, that is, an heavenly*†, these are confined to the Patriarchs and Leaders of the Jewish People. And that *they* had this distant prospect, I am as much concerned to prove as my Adversaries themselves. And if I should undertake to do it more effectually, nobody I believe will think that I pretended to any great matter. But then let us still remember there is a vast difference between SEEING THE PROMISES AFAR OFF and RECEIVING THE PROMISE: the latter implying a gift bestowed; the former, only the obscure and distant prospect of one to come. This indeed they had: but as to the other, the sacred Writers assure us that, in general, they had it not.—*And these* ALL having *obtained a good report* through faith, RECEIVED NOT THE PROMISE‡. For though all the good Israelites in general had *faith in God*, and

* Chap. iv. ver. 2. † Ver. 13—16. ‡ Ver. 39.

the

the Patriarchs and Leaders had the hope of a *better Country*, yet neither the one nor the other *received the Promise*.

I have said, that the *hopes of a better country*, is to be confined to the Patriarchs and Leaders of the ancient Jews: Nor is this contradicted by what is said of *others* who *were tortured, not accepting deliverance, that they might obtain a better Resurrection* *, for this refers (as our *English* Bibles shew us) to the history of the Maccabees; in whose time it is confessed the Doctrine of a *future state* was become national. How the People got it—of what materials it was composed—and from what quarters it was fetched, will be seen hereafter. It is sufficient to observe at present, that all this, the Jews soon forgot, or hid from themselves, and made this new flattering Doctrine a part of the Law. Hence the Author of the Second book of Maccabees makes one of the Martyrs say—*For our brethren who now have suffered a short pain, are dead unto God's* COVENANT OF EVERLASTING LIFE †. But it may be asked, how came this *Covenant of everlasting life* to lie so perfectly concealed from the time of Moses to the great Captivity, that, as appears from their History, neither Princes nor People had the least apprehension or suspicion of such a Covenant?

But here a proper occasion offers itself to remove a seeming contradiction between the Writer of the Epistle to the Hebrews, and St. Paul, in his speech to the synagogue at Antioch, which will give still further light to the subject. The former says, *And these all having obtained a good report through faith,* RECEIVED NOT THE PROMISE ‡. And the latter, THE PROMISE WHICH WAS MADE UNTO THE FATHERS,

* Ver. 35. † 2 Macc. vii. 36. ‡ Heb. xi. 39.

God hath fulfilled the same unto us their children, in that he hath raised up JESUS *again**. But the contradiction is only seeming. The two texts are, indeed, very consistent. The Writer to the Hebrews is speaking of the condition of the heads and leaders of the faithful Israelites in general; who certainly had not the promise of the Gospel revealed unto them. St. Paul, in his speech to the Synagogue, is speaking particularly of their father ABRAHAM: as appears from his introductory address, *Men and Brethren, Children of the stock of Abraham*†; and Abraham certainly had the promise of the Gospel revealed unto him, as appears from the words of JESUS himself. *Your father Abraham rejoiced to see my day; and he saw it, and was glad.* He saw the resurrection of Jesus in the restoration of his son Isaac. But of this more hereafter. And to this solution, the Author of the Epistle to the Hebrews himself directs us, who, though he had said that the holy men in general *received not the promise*, yet when he reckons up the distinct effects of each particular man's faith, he expressly says, *who through faith subdued kingdoms, wrought righteousness,* OBTAINED PROMISES, *stopped the mouths of lions, quenched the violence of fire*‡, *&c.* That is, some like David, through faith, *subdued kingdoms*; others, like Samuel, *wrought righteousness*; others, like Abraham, OBTAINED PROMISES; others, as Daniel, *stopped the mouths of lions*; and others, again, as his three companions, *quenched the violence of fire.* From whence I would infer these two conclusions:

1. That as the *promise* here said to be *obtained*, doth not contradict what the same Writer says presently after, that the faithful Israelites in general *received not the promise*; and as the *promise*, said by St. Paul to

* Acts xiii. 32. † Ver. 26. ‡ Heb. xi. 33.

be

be *made to the fathers*, means the same thing with the PROMISES said, by the Writer of the epistle to the Hebrews, to be OBTAINED, namely, the promises made to Abraham, *who saw* CHRIST's *day*, and the oath sworn to David, that *of the fruit of his loins he would raise up Christ to sit on his throne**; consequently, neither do the words of St. Paul contradict the Writer of the epistle to the Hebrews, where he says, *these all received not the promise*. 2. As these gospel *Promises* are said to be *obtained by faith*, it follows that the FAITH mentioned in this famous eleventh chapter to the Hebrews, could not be faith *in the Messiah*: because the promises of a Messiah are here said to be the consequence of faith; but faith *in the Messiah* is the consequence of the *promises* of a Messiah: *For how could they believe in him of whom they had not heard?* From whence it appears, that the FAITH so much extolled in this chapter was *faith in God's veracity*, according to the interpretation given above.

III.

This is all, as far as I can learn, that hath been objected to my Proposition; and this *all* is such a confirmation of it, that I am in pain lest the reader should think I have prevaricated, and drawn out the strongest Texts in the New Testament to support my Opinion, under the name of a Confutation of it. But I have fairly given them as I found them urged: and to shew that I am no less severe, though a little more candid, to my own notions, than my Answerers are, I shall produce an objection, which occurred to me in reading St. Paul's epistles, of more real moment than their whole bundle of Texts weighed together. It is this:

The learned Apostle, in his reasoning against the

* Acts ii. 30.

Jews, argues upon a supposition, that "By the Law they had eternal life offered to them or laid before them, on condition of their exact performance of the Commandment; but that all coming short of perfect obedience, there was a necessity of recurring to FAITH." —*For what the Law could not do* (says he) *in that it was weak through the flesh, God sending his own Son in the likeness of sinful flesh, and for sin condemned sin in the flesh; that the righteousness of the Law might be fulfilled in us, who walk not after the flesh, but after the Spirit* *.

This general Argument, which runs through the epistles to the *Romans* and *Galatians*, wears indeed the face of an objection to what I have advanced: but to understand the true value of it, we must consider the Apostle's end and purpose in writing. It was to rectify an error in the Jewish Converts, who would lay a necessity upon all men of conforming to the Law of Moses. As strangely superstitious as this may now appear to us, it seems to have been a very natural consequence of opinions then held by the whole Jewish Nation, as doctrines of Moses and of the Law; namely, a *future state* of Rewards and Punishments, and the *resurrection* of the Body. Now these Doctrines, which easily disposed the less prejudiced part of the Jews to receive the *Gospel*, where they were taught more directly and explicitly, at the same time gave them wrong notions both of the Religion of MOSES and of JESUS: Which, by the way, I desire those, who so much contend for a *future state*'s being in the Mosaic Dispensation, to take notice of. Their wrong notion of the LAW consisted in this, that having taken for granted, that the reward of obedience proposed by Moses was *Immortality*, and that this immortality could be obtained only by

* Rom. viii. 3, 4.

the

the *works* of the Law, therefore those works were, of necessity, to be observed. Their wrong notion of the GOSPEL consisted in this, that as *Immortality* was attached to *Works* by the *Law*, so it must needs be attached to *Works* by the *Gospel* also.

These were fatal mistakes. We have seen in our explanation of the eleventh chapter to the Hebrews, how the Apostles combated the last of them, namely, *Justification by Works*. The shewing now in what manner St. Paul opposed the other, of *obligation to the Law*, will explain the reasoning in question. Their opinion of obligation to the Law of Moses, was, as we say, founded on this principle, that it taught a *future state*, or offered *immortality* to its followers. The case was nice and delicate, and the confutation of the error required much address. What should our Apostle do? Should he in direct terms deny a *future state* was to be found in the Law? This would have shocked a general tradition supported by a national belief. Should he have owned that life and immortality came by the *Law?* This had not only fixed them in their error, but, what was worse, had tended to subvert the whole Gospel of JESUS. He has recourse therefore to this admirable expedient: The later Jews, in support of their national Doctrine of a *future state*, had given a *spiritual* sense to the Law. And this, which they did out of necessity, with little apparent grounds of conclusion then to be discovered, was seen, after the coming of the Messiah, to have the highest reasonableness and truth. Thus we find there were two *spiritual senses*, the one spurious, invented by the later Doctors of the Law; the other genuine, discovered by the Preachers of the Gospel; and these coinciding well enough in the main, St. Paul was enabled to seize a *spiritual* sense, and from thence to argue on their

own principles, that the Law of Moses could not now oblige; which he does in this irresistible manner. "*The Law*, says he, *we know is spiritual**; that is, in a spiritual sense promises immmortality: for it says, *Do this and live*†. Therefore, *he who does the deeds of the Law shall live*‡. But what then? *I am carnal*§: And *all have sinned, and come short of the glory of God*‖: So that no flesh can be *justified by the deeds of the Law*¶, which requires a perfect obedience. *Works* then being unprofitable, we must have recourse to *Faith*: But *the Law is not of Faith***: Therefore the Law is unprofitable for the attainment of salvation, and consequently no longer obligatory."—Never was an important argument more artfully conducted, where the erroneous are brought into the right way on their own principles, and yet the truth not given up or betrayed. This would have been admired in a Greek or Roman Orator.

But though the *principle* he went upon was common both to him and his adversaries, and consequently true, that the Law was *spiritual*, or had a spiritual meaning, whereby, under the species of those temporal promises of the Law, the promises of the Gospel were shadowed out; yet the *inference* from thence, that the Law *offered immortality* to its followers, was solely Jewish, and urged by St. Paul as an argument *ad hominem* only; which appears certain from these considerations:

1. This *spiritual* sense, which St. Paul owns to be in the Law, was not a sense which was conveyed down with the literal, by Moses, to the followers of the Law; but was a sense *invented* or *discovered* long

* Rom. vii. 14. † Lev. xviii. 5. Gal. iii. 12.
‡ Rom. x. 5. § Rom. vii. 14. ‖ Rom. iii. 23.
¶ Gal. ii. 16. Chap. iii. ver. 11. ** Gal. iii. 12.

after;—

after;—the spurious, by the later Jewish Doctors; and the genuine and real, by the Apostles; as appears from these words of St. Paul:—*But now we are delivered from the Law, that being* DEAD *wherein we were held, that we should serve in* NEWNESS OF SPIRIT, *and not in the* OLDNESS OF THE LETTER *. We see here, the Apostle gives the *letter* to the Jewish Economy, and the *spirit* to the Christian. Let me observe how exactly this quadrates with, and how well it explains, what he says in another place; where having told the Corinthians that he and his Fellow-Apostles were *ministers of the New Testament, not of the letter but of the spirit*, he adds, *the letter killeth, but the spirit giveth life*. The Jews had only the *letter* delivered to them by the Law, but the Letter killeth; the consequence is, that the *Law* (in which was only the *letter*) had no future state.

2. Secondly, Supposing St. Paul really to hold that the *Law offered immortality to its followers*, and that that immortality was attached (as his argument supposes it) to *Works*, it would contradict the other reasoning which both he himself and the author of the epistle to the Hebrews urged so cordially against the second error of the Jewish Converts; namely, of *immortality*'s being attached to *works*, or that *justification* was by *works* under the Gospel: for to confute this error, they prove, as we have shewn, that it was *faith* which *justified*, not only under the Gospel, but under the Law also.

3. Thirdly, If immortality were indeed offered through *works*, by the *Law*, then *justification by faith*, one of the great fundamental doctrines of Christianity†, would

* Rom. vii. 6.

† This I shall shew hereafter; and endeavour to rescue it from the madness of enthusiasm on the one hand, and the absurdity of

would be infringed. For then *faith* could, at best, be only supposed to make up the defect of *works*, in such a sense as to enable *works* to *justify*.

4. Fourthly, It would directly contradict what St. Paul in other places says of the Law; as that *it is a shadow of things to come, but that the body is of* CHRIST *. But the offer of immortality on one condition, could never be called the *shadow* of the offer of it on another. *That it is the schoolmaster to bring men to Christ* †. Now, by the unhappy dexterity of these men, who, in defiance of the Apostle, will needs give the doctrines of *grace and truth*, as well as the doctrines of the *Law*, to MOSES, His appointed SCHOOLMASTER, the Law, is made to act a part that would utterly discredit every other *schoolmaster*, namely, to teach his children, yet in their *Elements* ‡, the sublime doctrines of manly science.

5. Fifthly and lastly, If St. Paul intended this for any more than an argument *ad hominem*, he contradicted himself, and misled his disciple Timothy, whom he expressly assured, that *our Saviour Jesus Christ hath* ABOLISHED DEATH, *and hath brought life and immortality to light through the Gospel.* And lest, by this *bringing to light*, any one should mistake him to mean only that Jesus Christ had made life and immortality more clear and manifest, than Moses had done, he adds, that our Saviour had *abolished or destroyed Death*, or that state of mortality and extinction into which mankind had fallen by the transgression of Adam; and in which, they continued under the Law of Moses, as appears from that Law's having no other sanction than *temporal rewards and punishments*. Now this state

the common system on the other, and yet not betray it, in explaining it away under the fashionable pretence of delivering the *Scripture Doctrine* of it.

* Col. iii. 17. † Gal. iii. 24. ‡ Gal. iv. 3—9.

state must needs be abolished, before another could be introduced: consequently by *bringing life and immortality to light*, must needs be meant, the introduction of a new system.

I will only observe, that the excellent Mr. Locke was not aware of the nature of the argument in question; and so, on its mistaken authority, hath seemed to suppose that the Law did indeed offer immortality to its followers: This hath run him into great perplexities throughout his explanation of St. Paul's epistles.

Thus we have at length proved our THIRD PROPOSITION, *That the Doctrine of a future state of Rewards and Punishments is not to be found in, nor did make part of, the Mosaic Dispensation*; and, as we presume, to the satisfaction of every capable and impartial reader.

But to give these arguments credit with those who determine only by AUTHORITY, I shall, in the last place, support them with the opinions of three Protestant Writers; but these Three worth a million. The first is the illustrious GROTIUS—"Moses in "Religionis Judaicæ Institutione, si diserta Legis "respicimus, nihil promisit supra hujus vitæ bona, "terram uberem, penum copiosum, victoriam de "hostibus, longam & valentem senectutem, posteros "cum bona spe superstites. Nam, SI QUID EST "ULTRA, in umbris obtegitur, aut sapienti ac DIFFICILI ratiocinatione colligendum est."

The second is the excellent EPISCOPIUS.—"In tota "Lege Mosaica nullum vitæ æternæ præmium, ac ne "æterni quidem præmii INDICIUM VEL VESTIGIUM "extat: quicquid nunc Judæi multum de futuro "seculo, de resurrectione mortuorum, de vita æterna "loquantur, & ex Legis verbis ea extorquere potius

"quam

" quam ostendere conentur, NE LEGEM MOSIS " IMPERFECTAM ESSE COGANTUR AGNOSCERE cum " Sadducæis; quos olim (&, uti observo ex scriptis " Rabbinorum, hodieque) vitam futuri sæculi Lege " Mosis nec promitti nec contineri adfirmasse, quum " tamen Judæi essent, certissimum est. Nempe non " nisi per Cabalam sive Traditionem, quam illi in " universum rejiciebant, opinionem sive fidem illam " irrepsisse asserebant. Et sane opinionum, quæ inter " Judæos erat, circa vitam futuri sæculi discrepantia, " arguit promissiones Lege factas tales esse, ut ex iis " certi quid de vita futuri sæculi non possit colligi. " Quod & Servator noster non obscure innuit, cum " resurrectionem mortuorum colligit Mat. XXII. non " ex promisso aliquo Legi addito, sed ex generali " tantum illo promisso Dei, quo se Deum Abrahami, " Isaaci, & Jacobi futurum spoponderat: quæ tamen " illa collectio magis nititur cognitione intentionis " divinæ sub generalibus istis verbis occultatæ aut " comprehensæ, de qua Christo certo constabat, quàm " necessaria consequentia, sive verborum vi ac virtute " manifestâ, qualis nunc & in verbis Novi Testamenti, " ubi vita æterna & resurrectio mortuorum proram " & puppim faciunt totius Religionis Christianæ, & " tam clarè ac disertè promittuntur ut ne hiscere qui- " dem contra quis possit*."

And the third is our learned Bishop BULL:— " Primo quæritur an in V. Testamento nullum omnino " extet vitæ æternæ promissum? de eo enim à non- " nullis dubitatur. Resp. Huic quæstioni optimè " mihi videtur respondere Augustinus, distinguens " nomen Veteris Testamenti: nam eo intelligi ait " aut pactum illud, quod in Monte Sinai factum est, " aut omnia, quæ in Mose, Hagiographis, ac Prophetis

* Inst. Theol. lib. iii. sect. 1. c. 2.

" continentur,

" continentur. Si Vetus Testamentum posteriori " sensu accipiatur, concedi FORSITAN possit, esse in " eo nonnulla futuræ vitæ non obscura indicia; " præsertim in Libro Psalmorum, Daniele, & Ezekiele: " quanquam vel in his libris clarum ac disertum " æternæ vitæ promissum VIX AC NE VIX quidem " reperias. Sed hæc QUALIACUNQUE erant, non " erant nisi præludia & anticipationes gratiæ Evan- " gelicæ, AD LEGEM NON PERTINEBANT.—Lex " enim promissa habuit *terrena*, & *terrena* TANTUM, " —Si quis contra sentiat, ejus est locum dare, ubi " æternæ vitæ promissio extat; QUOD CERTE IM- " POSSIBILE EST.—Sub his autem verbis [legis ipsius] " Dei intentione comprehensam fuisse vitam æternam, " ex interpretatione ipsius Christi ejusque Apostolo- " rum manifestum est. Verùm hæc non sufficiunt ut " dicamus vitam æternam in Fœdere Mosaico pro- " missam fuisse. Nam primò promissa, præsertim " Fœderi annexa, debent esse clara ac diserta, & " ejusmodi, ut ab utraque parte stipulante intelligi " possint. Promissa autem hæc TYPICA & generalia, " non additâ aliunde interpretatione, PENE IM- " POSSIBILE ERAT, UT QUIS ISTO SENSU INTEL- " LIGERET *."

Thus these three capital supports of the Protestant Church. But let the man be of what Church he will, so he have a superiority of understanding and be not defective in integrity, you shall always hear him speak the same Language. The great ARNAULD, that shining ornament of the Gallican Church, urges this important truth with still more frankness—" C'est " LE COMBLE DE L'IGNORANCE (says this accom- " plished Divine) de mettre en doute cette vérité, qui

* Harmonia Apostolica, Dissertat. posterior, cap. x. sect. 8. p. 474. inter *Opera omnia*, ed. 1721.

" est

" est une des plus communes de la Religion Chre-
" tienne, et qui est ATTESTEE PAR TOUS LES PERES,
" que *les promesses de l'ancien Testament n'etoient*
" *que temporelles et terrestres, et que les Juifs*
" *n'adoroient Dieu que pour les biens charnels**."
And what more hath been said or done by the Author of the DIVINE LEGATION? Indeed, a great deal more. He hath shewn, " That the absence or omission of a future state of rewards and punishments in the Mosaic Religion is a certain proof that its original was from God." *Forgive him this wrong*, my reverend Brethren!

* Apologie de Port-Royal. And see note [LL] at the end.

☞ *This* BOOK *is continued in the succeeding Volume.*

NOTES

APPERTAINING TO THE

FIRST, SECOND, THIRD, AND FOURTH SECTIONS

OF

BOOK VI.

P. 290. [A]

TO give an example only in Bishop BULL, whose words in a *Latin* tract, for a future state's not being in the Mosaic Dispensation, I have quoted in the fourth section of this Sixth Book; yet in an *English* posthumous sermon, he seems to speak in a very different manner.—I should not have illustrated this censure by the example of so respectable a Person, but for the indiscretion of my Answerers, who, to support their own *ill logic*, have exposed his *morals*.

P. 298. [B] Job's *Life*, by means of the Devil and his false Friends, was an exercise of his Patience; and his *History*, by means of Criticism and his Commentators, has since been an exercise of ours. I am far from thinking myself unconcerned in this mischief; for by a foolish attempt to support his Name and Character, I have been the occasion of bringing down whole bands of hostile Critics upon him, who, like the *Sabeans* and *Chaldeans* of old, soon reduced him back to his Dunghill. Some came armed in Latin, some in English, and some in the language of Billingsgate. Most of them were professedly written against me; but all, in reality, bear hardest on the good old Patriarch.

However,

However, though I am, as I said, to be reckoned, along with these, amongst Job's Persecutors; yet I have this to say for myself, that the vexation I gave him was soon over. If I scribbled ten pages on his back, my Adversaries and his have *made long furrows* and scribbled ten thousand. Now, though amongst all these Job found no favour, yet by ill-hap my System did: But to whom I am most obliged, whether to those who attacked it, or to those who espoused it, is not easy to say: for, by a singular event, the Assailants have left me in possession of all its supports, and the Defenders have taken them all away *: the better, I presume, to fit it to their own use. Learned Naturalists tell us of a certain Animal in the watery waste, which, for I know not what conceit, they call *Bernard the Hermit*; and which, in courtesy, they rank with the testaceous tribe, though Nature (so bountiful to the rest of its kind) hath given This no habitation of its own, but sent it naked and unhoused into the world. In recompence, she has enabled it to figure amongst the best of its tribe: for, by a noble endowment of instinct, it is taught to make its way into the best accommodated, and best ornamented shells of its brethren; which it either finds empty, or soon makes so, to fit them up for its own ease and convenience.

P. 298. [C] But if the reader would see the absurdity of supposing the book of Job to be written thus early, and at the same time, to teach the resurrection and a future state, exposed at large, he may read the third chapter of *The free and candid Examination of the* BISHOP *of London's Principles.*

P. 300. [D] Calmet makes the following observation, in his comment on the 1st verse of chap. xxxviii. L'Ecrivain de cet Ouvrage a observé de ne point employer ce nom de *Jehovah* dans les discours directs, qu'il fait tenir à Job et à ses Amis: mais dans les recits, qui sont au commencement, et à la fin du Livre,

* See Mr. G's discourses on the book of Job.

il

il use de ce terme, comme font d'ordinaire les Ecrivains Hebreux. Ce qui *demontre* que l'Ouvrage a été ecrit par un Juif, et depuis Moyse; puisque ce nom incommunicable ne fut connu que depuis l'apparition du Buisson ardent.

P. 303. [E] The Cornish Critic thinks otherwise. "These false friends (says he) are described as having "so much fellow-feeling of Job's sufferings, that they "sit with him seven days and nights upon the ground "without being able to speak to him. If this be the "dramatic way of representing false friends, how "shall we know the false from the true?" p. 19. Sempronius, in the Play of Cato, is all along warmer than even Cato himself in the cause of liberty and Rome. *If this be the dramatic way of representing a false patriot* (may our Critic say) *how shall we know the false from the true?* I answer, by observing him with his mask off. And do not Job's false friends unmask themselves, when they so cruelly load their suffering Acquaintance with the most injurious reflections? Indeed the Critic deserves our pity, who cannot see that the formal circumstance of *sitting silent seven days* was a dramatic embellishment in the Eastern manner: The not knowing that the number *seven* was a sacred number amongst the Jews, may indeed be more excusable.—But he goes on, "I have been "often struck with surprise to see him [the author of "the D. L.] very earnestly endeavouring to support "his allegorical interpretation of the book of Job by "arguments drawn from the contradictions, which he "fancies he has there espied, to the truth of the his-"tory or tradition upon which his allegory is built. "Than which, in my apprehension, there can scarce "be a greater absurdity. I would desire him to con-"sider attentively the allegorical ode in Horace, *O na-"vis, referent*, &c. that though every thing therein "may be accommodated to a republic, yet it is true "in the literal or primary sense only of a ship, and

" that there is not one single stroke in it that can be " understood of a republic and not of a ship; and " this might shew him his mistake in applying pas- " sages in the book of Job to the Jewish People, " MERELY because they cannot be understood of Job: " which is directly annihilating the allegory he would " establish. For it is as plain that in an allegory two " things or persons *must be concerned*, as that two " and two must go to make four." pp. 99, 100.—The insolence, the fraud, the nonsense of this passage, is as much without example as it was without provocation.—I desire to understand, by what other means, except by revelation, an *allegorical* writing can be known to be *allegorical*, but by circumstances in it which cannot be reconciled to the story or fable which serves both for a cover and vehicle to the moral? And yet this man tells us that to attempt to prove the nature of a writing to be allegorical from this circumstance is one of the *greatest absurdities*. When the allegory is of some length, and takes in the life and adventures of a certain person, it can scarce be otherwise but that some circumstances in it must be varied from the fact, to adapt it to the moral. In a shorter, where the object is more simple, there may be no need for any variation. And this shews the disingenuity of this man, in bringing the ode of Horace into comparison. For which too, the little he knows, he is indebted to the author of the Divine Legation. And how little that is we shall now see.

In the first place, I have shewn this Ode not to be of the nature of an *allegory*, where the story is only the cover and vehicle to the moral: but of the nature of a relation containing a *double sense*, primarily and secondarily: in which an information is conveyed in both senses: consequently there ought not to be a *single stroke in it that can be understood of a republic and not of a ship:* But this is a species of writing entirely distinct from the allegory in question; so that the urging it was impertinent: and the following

observation is made with his usual insolence:—*this might shew him his mistake in applying passages of the book of Job to the Jewish People* MERELY *because they cannot be understood of Job!* but not with insolence only, but with fraud: For I do not apply passages in the book of Job, MERELY for this reason; no nor principally; but only as one of many reasons.

However, contending for such discordant circumstances in the vehicle-story, he says, *is directly annihilating the allegory.* Now I understood it was the establishing it; as it is the only means of getting to the knowledge of its being an allegory. He goes on, —*For it is as plain that in an allegory two things or persons must be concerned, as that two and two must go to make four.* What he means by this jargon of *two's being concerned*, I know not. If he means that the *fable* and the *moral* must go to the making up the *allegory*, nobody will dispute it with him. But if he means, that all the personages in the *fable* must have all the qualities, attributes, and adventures of the personages in the *moral*, all Æsop's fables will confute this profound reasoner on allegories. However, something, to be sure, he did mean: He had a notion, I suppose, that there was a right and wrong in every thing: he only wanted to know where they lie: Therefore, to make these cursory notes as useful as I can, I will endeavour to explain his meaning. It is certain then, that though the justice of allegoric writing does not require that the facts in the fable do in reality correspond exactly with the facts in the moral, yet the truth of things requires the *possibility* of their so corresponding. Thus, though the Ass perhaps never actually covered himself with a Lion's skin, and was betrayed by his long ears, as Æsop relates; yet we have an example before us, sufficient to convince us that he might have done so, without much expence of instinct. But when *Dryden* made his *Hind and Panther* dispute about the doctrine and discipline of particular Churches; as they never possibly could

have done so, *this* (to take his own words, instead of better) *is directly annihilating the allegory he would establish; for it is as plain that in an allegory two things or persons must be concerned, as that two and two must go to make four.* But I fancy I ascribe more to his sagacity than it deserves, in supposing, that he understood, what kind of allegory the book of Job must needs be, if it be any allegory at all. I now begin to suspect he took it to be of the same kind with the Ode of Horace, not indeed because he compares it to that Ode; for such kind of Writers are accustomed to make, as the Poet says, *comparisons unlike*; but because this suspicion may give some light to his cloudy observation, *that two things or persons must be concerned:* For in that sort of allegory which is of the nature of a relation containing a *double sense* primarily and secondarily, every thing said must agree exactly both to the primary and to the secondary subject. Which perhaps is what this man means by his clumsy precept, of *two things or persons concerned.* The reason of this distinction, in these two sorts of allegory, is this,—In that sort of allegory, which is of the nature of the book of Job, or of the APOLOGUE, the cover *has no moral import:* But in that sort which is of the nature of a NARRATIVE WITH A DOUBLE SENSE, the cover *has a moral import.*

P. 303. [F] To this, the Cornish Critic—"What "a happy way is here of reconciling contradictions! "It seems truth may become falsehood, if it be neces- "sary to support the allegory. The moral and the "fable may disagree as widely as you please, and the "conclusion by a new sort of logic have something "in it very different from the premisses." p. 19.—If his kind Reader knows what to make of this jargon of *truth becoming falsehood,* and *the conclusion having more in it than the premisses,* he may take it for his pains. All that the Author of the Divine Legation asserts to be here done, and which may be done according

according to nature and good sense, is no more than this, that a dramatic Writer, when he fetches his subject from History, may alter certain of the circumstances, to fit it to his Plot; which all dramatic Writers, ancient and modern, have done. Much more reasonable is this liberty, where the work is not only *dramatic* but *allegorical*. Now I will suppose, that, together with Job's patience under the hand of God, tradition had brought down an account of his further sufferings under the uncharitable censure of three friends: Was not the Maker of this allegoric work at liberty, for the better carrying on his purpose, to represent them as *false* ones. Yet, this liberty, our wonderful Critic calls *reconciling contradictions, making truth become falsehood*, and I can't tell what nonsense besides of *premisses and conclusions*.

P. 304. [G] *Maimonides* having given a summary of the dispute, draws this inference from it: *Vide & perpende, quâ ratione hoc negotium confusos reddiderit homines, & ad sententias illas de providentiâ Dei erga creaturas quas exposuimus permoverit.* Yet, when he comes to speak of the solution of these difficulties, he could find none. But not to say nothing (the thing most dreaded by Commentators) he pretends to discover, from the obscurity in which things are left, the true scope of the book of Job: *Hic fuit scopus totius libri Jobi, ut scilicet constituatur hic articulus fidei, & doceatur, à rebus naturalibus discendum esse, ut non erremus, aut cogitemus scientiam ejus* [Dei sc.] *ita se habere ut scientium nostram; intentionem, providentiam, & gubernationem ejus, sicut intentionem, providentiam, & gubernationem nostram.* Mor. Nev. p. 3. c. xxiii.

P. 304. [H] Here Dr. Grey exclaims—" How, " Sir, *no wiser?* Is God introduced to *unfold* the " mysterious ways of his Providence, and yet the " knot is left untied, because the Writer, though

" speaking in the person of God, and by his inspira-
" tion, was not *wise enough* to untie it? Is that a
" speech to the purpose, which in a Controversy, as
" you will have it, where the disputants have much
" perplexed the question, and a superior Wisdom *was*
" *wanted to determine it*, clears up no difficulties?
" Or is it language fit to be made use of, when
" speaking of a book dictated by the spirit of God,
" that the writer of it has recourse to the common
" expedient of dramatic writers to help him out of
" his straits?" *Answer to Remarks*, p. 125. Softly, good Doctor! In determining a dispute concerning the ways of Providence, though God himself had indeed interposed, we can conceive but two ways of doing it: The one to SATISFY us, by explaining the end and means of that Providence, where the explanation is useful to us, and adequate to our capacities: The other, to SILENCE us, by an argument to our modesty, drawn from the incomprehensible nature and government of the Deity, where an explanation is not useful to us, and inadequate to our capacities. Both these Determinations, the one by *explanation*, the other by *authority*, attended by their respective circumstances, are equally reasonable: and the last is here employed for the reason hinted at, to put an end to this embarrassed dispute. Let this serve in answer to the Doctor's question, *Is that a speech to the purpose, which in a controversy where the disputants have much perplexed the question, and a superior wisdom was wanted to determine it, clears up no difficulties?*

Indeed, though there was no *untying the knot*, there was a way to *cut it*, which would have done full as well; and that was by revealing the doctrine of a future state. Why it was not done, I leave the learned Critic and all in his sentiments, to give us some good account, since they are not disposed to receive that which the author of the Divine Legation has given. For this Doctor tells us, *it is but small comfort that arises from resolving all into submission*

to

to the almighty power of God, p. 107. St. Paul indeed tells us, it is the greatest *comfort*, as well as wisdom, *to resolve all into submission to the almighty power of God.*—But Doctors differ.

From the MATTER of the D. L. the Doctor proceeds (as we see) to the LANGUAGE.—*Is it language fit to be made use of when speaking of a book dictated by the spirit of God?*—The language hinted at, I suppose, is what he had quoted above, that *the sacred writer was no wiser when he spoke poetically in the person of God*, &c. I think it *not unfit*, and for these reasons; a Prophet speaking or writing by inspiration is just so far and no further enlightened than suits the purpose of his Mission. Now the clearing up the mysterious ways of Providence being reserved amongst the arcana of the Deity, a Prophet (though employed to end the foolish and hurtful disputes about it, amongst men, by an appeal to the incomprehensible nature of the Deity) was certainly, when he made this appeal *in the person of God, no wiser* in the knowledge of this arcanum, *than when he spoke in the person of Job or his friends.*

P. 306. [I] This Writer endeavouring to prove the high age of *Job* or of the *Book of Job*, for these two things, after better reasoners, he all along confounds, closes his arguments in this manner, *Denique post formatam rempublicam Judaicam, secretamque à cæteris gentibus, per instituta propria & legem à Deo datam: non facile, credo, hanc sanctam gentem, ejusdem temporis & sæculi alienigenam, vel hominem Gentilem, in exemplum pietatis proposituram, aut ipsius acta & historiam in sacros eorum codices relaturam.* Archæol. Philos. p. 266. ed. 8vo, 1728. The Reader sees, all the strength of the argument rests on this false supposition, that the book must needs be as old as its subject. For if Job were of the Patriarchal times, he was a fit example of piety, let his history be written when it would: and, if written by a sacred

Author, it was worthy to be inserted into the Canon of Scripture: and was likely to be so inserted, if composed (as we shall see it was) by a Jewish Prophet.

P. 307. [K] Vell. Paterc. Hist. l. i. c. 3. Had Dr. R. Grey known but just so much of the nature of these Compositions, he had never fallen into the ridiculous mistake I am going to take notice of. This learned Critic, to confute the system I advance, that the subject of the argumentative part of the book of Job was, *Whether, and why, the good are sometimes unhappy and the bad prosperous*; and that the question was debated for the sake of the Israelites in the time of Ezra; observes as follows: "Zopher says, ch. xx. "ver. 4, 5. *Knowest thou not this of old, since man* "*was placed upon earth, that the triumphing of the* "*wicked is short, and the joy of the hypocrite but for* "*a moment?* Now lay your hand upon your heart, "Sir, and ask yourself seriously, whether this can "relate to an extraordinary Providence over the Jews "only." p. 111. He is so pleased with the force of this observation, that he repeats it, p. 116. To which I need only reply, Lay your hand, Sir, on your head, and reflect upon this rule of good writing, *Nihil enim ex Persona Poetæ, sed omnia sub eorum, qui illo tempore vixerunt, dixerunt.*

P. 308. [L] From amongst many instances which might be given of these slips, take the following of Euripides, in his *Iphigenia in Aulis*, Act. 3. where he makes the Chorus say, *Troy perishes. And for whom? For you, cruel Helen, who, as they say, are the daughter of Jupiter, who, under the form of a Swan, had commerce with Leda.*—So far is well: because we may suppose the Chorus alluded to the popular tale concerning Helen's birth, spread abroad in her life-time. But when the Chorus goes on and says,—*If at least the writings of the Poets be not fabulous*, the Author had forgot himself; for the Poets who embellished her story, lived long afterwards.

P. 308. [M] Here the Cornish answerer affirms, "'that this method of punishment was not peculiar to " the Jewish Polity, but was observed, *in some degrees* " *at least*, with respect to all mankind." For which he quotes Isaiah's threatenings on the Children of the king of Babylon, chap. xiv. ver. 20, & seq. That is, in order to prove that God *punished the crimes of the fathers on the children in some degree at least, with respect to all mankind*, he quotes an instance, not of the *general* providence of God to all mankind, but a *particular* dispensation to the Babylonians: and not a *particular* punishment, which selects out the children of transgressing parents, but a *general* one, which in the nature of things necessarily attends the total overthrow of a State or Community.

P. 309. [N] Mr. LOCKE thought this so decisive a proof that the book of Job was written after the giving the Law, that he says, THIS PLACE ALONE, WERE THERE NO OTHER, *is sufficient to confirm their opinion who conclude that book to be writ by a Jew.—Third Letter for Toleration*, p. 81, 82. Let those Critics reflect upon this, who think there is no footstep nor shadow of allusion to any thing relating to the people of Israel.

P. 312. [O] Ver. 21. evidently taken from these words of the Psalmist, *Thou shalt keep them secretly in a pavillion from the strife of tongues*, Ps. xxxi. 20. For which was the copy and which the original can here admit no doubt, since the image was an obvious one in the Psalmist, who lived in a great city, less natural in Job who lived in a desert, as we have observed above.

P. 322. [P] The best and ablest Critics are generally agreed, and have as generally taken it for granted, that this *question* is the subject of debate between the several disputants in the book of Job. It would be

abusing the reader's patience to produce a long train of Authorities. Though it may not be improper to give the sentiments of the last, though not the least able of them, on this head.—Operæ pretium est admonere te, amice Lector, quid nobis de tota hujus Libri materia cogitandum esse videatur. Primum quidem amici Job sic statuunt, quandoquidem tot tantisque cladibus Deus amicum ipsorum Job affiixit, ei Deum esse iratum, cum igitur pœnas tales aliquo scelere, velaperto, vel occulto commeruisse. Cujus suæ sententiæ testes adhibent generationes hominum priores, in quibus inauditum est, inquiunt, *Deum vel integros viros aspernatum, vel impios manu apprehendisse.* Si quis nostræ ætatis homo sic disputaret, nemo esset quin ejus temeritatem atque audaciam miraretur, qui rem aperte falsam sumeret, cum sæpissimè eveniat et summas miserias experiri hac in mortali vita viros bonos, et florentissimam fortunam, flagitiosos. Tamen Job, *id quod est maxime considerandum*, redargutione tali non utitur. Non id negat, quod sui amici, Patrum memoria teste confirmabant; quod tamen Job, si falsum id sibi videretur, uno verbo, *Mentiris*, poterat confutare. Atque etiam idem Job alterum negans, tales se miserias crimine aliquo suo fuisse commeritum, alterum tamen non dissimulat, Deum sibi adversari; in qua ipsa sancti viri confessione adversariorum causa ex parte vincebat, cum suas clades Job sic acciperet, ut iræ divinæ consueta signa, cumque inde non parum animo æstuaret. Quæ cum ita sint, nos sic existimamus, non falsos fuisse memoriæ testes Job amicos; atque adeo, PRIMIS MUNDI TEMPORIBUS, homines impios fuisse, præter solitum naturæ cursum, divinâ irâ percussos, iisque acceptos plagis, quarum sancti homines essent immunes; Deo Opt. Max. humanas res ita moderante, ut Religionem in terris tueretur, et ut homines, cum talia exempla paterentur cogitarent esse in cœlo Deum justum, a quo mortales ut recte factorum præmium sperare deberent, sic scelerum ultionem timere. HOUBIGANT *in librum Job, lectori.*

But,

But, since the writing of my Dissertation, the language of the rabbinical men has been greatly changed. And, partly to keep up the antiquity of the book, but principally to guard against an *extraordinary Providence*, several of them, in defiance of their senses, have denied that this, which this honest Priest of the Oratory makes to be the subject of the book of Job, has indeed any thing at all to do with it. Amongst the foremost of these is Dr. Richard Grey, the epitomiser of Albert Schultens' Comment on this book. In the preface to his Abstract, amongst other things, he has criticised my opinion of the scope of the book in the following manner.—Nam quod dicit vir clariss. id præcipue in hoc libro disceptari, nempe an bonis semper bona, malisque mala, an utrisque utraque promiscue obtingent; hanc autem quæstionem (a nobis quidem alienam, minus ideo perpensam) nusquam alibi gentium præterquam in Judæa nec apud ipsos Judæos alio quovis tempore, quam quod assignat, moveri potuisse, id omne ex veritate suæ hypotheseos pendet, et mea quidem sententia, longe aliter se habet. Præf. p. 10—15. *For as to what this writer* [the author of the D. L.] *says, that the main question handled in the book of Job is whether good happens to the good, and evil to evil men, or whether both happen not promiscuously to both; and that this question (a very foreign one to us, and therefore the less attended to) could never be the subject of disputation any where but in the land of Judea, nor there neither at any other time than that which he assigns; all this, I say, depends on the truth of his hypothesis, and is, in my opinion, far otherwise.*—That which *depends on the truth of an hypothesis* has, indeed, generally speaking, a very slender foundation: and I am partly of opinion it was the common prejudice against this support which disposed the learned Prefacer to give my notions no better a name. But what I have shewn to be the subject of the book is so far from depending on the truth of my hypothesis, that the truth of my hypothesis

thesis depends on what I have shewn to be the subject of the book: and very fitly so, as every reasonable *hypothesis* should be supported on a *fact*. Now I might appeal to the learned world, whether it be not as clear a fact that the subject of the book of Job is *whether good happens to the good, and evil to evil men, or whether both happen not promiscuously to both*; as that the subject of the first book of *Tusculan Disputations* is *de contemnenda morte*. On this I founded my hypothesis, that the book of Job must have been written about the time of Esdras, because no other assignable time could at all suit the subject.—But 'tis possible I may mistake in what he calls *my hypothesis:* for aught I know, he may understand not that of the book of Job, but that of the *Divine Legation*. And then, by *my hypothesis*, he must mean the great religious principle I endeavoured to evince, THAT THE JEWS WERE IN REALITY UNDER AN EXTRAORDINARY PROVIDENCE. But it will be paying me a very unusual compliment to call that my hypothesis which the Bible was not only divinely written, but was likewise divinely preserved, to testify; which all Believers profess to believe; and which none but Unbelievers and *Answerers* to the Divine Legation directly deny. However, if this be the *hypothesis* he means, I need desire no better a support. But the truth is, my interpretation of the book of Job seeks support from nothing but those common rules of grammar and logic on which the sense of all kind of writings are or ought to be interpreted.

He goes on in this manner. Nempe id unum voluisse mihi videtur sacer Scriptor, ut iis omnibus, utcunque afflictis, humilitatis et patientiæ perpetuum extaret documentum ex contemplatione gemina, hinc infinitæ Dei perfectionis, sapientiæ & potentiæ; illinc humanæ, quæ in sanctissimis quoque viris inest, corruptionis, imbecillitatis & ignorantiæ. *For the* SOLE *purpose of the sacred writer seems to me to be this, to compose a work that should remain a perpetual document*

of

of humility and patience to all good men in affliction from this twofold consideration, as on the one hand of the infinite perfection, power, and wisdom of God; so on the other, of human corruption, imbecility, and ignorance, discoverable even in the best of men. Such talk in a popular discourse, for the sake of a moral application, might not be amiss: but to speak thus to the learned world, is surely out of season. The Critic will be apt to tell him, he hath mistaken the *Actor for the subject*; and that he might on the same principle as well conclude that the purpose of Virgil's poem is not the establishment of an empire in Italy, but the personal piety of Æneas. But to be a little more explicit. The book of Job consists of two distinct parts; the *narrative*, contained in the prologue and epilogue; and the *argumentative*, which composes the body of the work. Now when the question is of the subject of a book, who means any other than the body of it? yet the learned Doctor mistaking the *narrative* part for the *argumentative*, gives us the subject of the introduction and conclusion for that of the work itself. And it is very true that the beginning and the end do exhibit *a perpetual document of humility and patience to all good men in affliction.* But it is as true that the body of the work neither does nor could exhibit any such document. First it does not; for, that humility and patience, which Job manifests before his entering into dispute, is succeeded by rage and ostentation when he becomes heated with unreasonable opposition. Secondly, it could not; because it is altogether argumentative; the subject of which must needs be a proposition debated, and not a document exemplified. A precept may be conveyed in history; but a disputation can exhibit only a debated question. I have shewn what that question is; and he, instead of proving that I have assigned a wrong one, goes about to persuade the reader, that there is no question at all.

He proceeds. Quamvis enim in sermonibus, qui

in eo habentur, de religione, de virtute, de providentia. Deique in mundo gubernando sapientia, justitia, sanctitate, de uno rerum omnium principio, aliisque gravissimis veritatibus dissertetur, hunc tamen quem dixi unicum esse libri scopum, tam ex initio et fine, quam ex universâ ejus œconomiâ cuivis opinor manifestum erit. Ea enim, ut rem omnem summatim complectar, Jobum exhibet, primo quidem querentem, expostulantem, effræno luctui indulgentem; mox (quum, ut sacri dramatis natura postulabat, amicorum contradictione, sinistrisque suspicionibus magis magisque irritatus et facessitus esset) imprudentius Deum provocantem, atque in justitia sua gloriantem; ad debitam tandem summissionem suique cognitionem revocatum, tum demum, nec antea, integritatis suæ tam præmium, quam testimonium a Deo reportantem. *For although in the speeches that occur, there be much talk of religion, virtue, and providence, of God's wisdom, justice, and holiness in the government of the world, of one principle of all things, and other most important truths, yet that this which I have assigned is the only scope of the book will appear manifest to every one, as well from the beginning and the end as from the economy of the whole. For to say all in a word, it first presents Job complaining, expostulating, and indulging himself in an ungovernable grief: but soon after (when, as the nature of the sacred drama required, by the contradiction of his friends, and their sinister suspicions, he became more and more teased and irritated) rashly challenging God, and glorying in his own integrity: yet at length brought back to a due submission and knowledge of himself.* The reader sees that all this is just as pertinent as if I should say, Mr. CHILLINGWORTH's famous book against Knot the Jesuit, was not to prove *the religion of Protestants a safe way to salvation*, but to give the picture of an artful Caviller and a candid Disputer. "For, although, in the arguments that occur, there be much talk of protestantism, popery, infallibility, a judge of controversies, fundamentals

mentals of faith, and other most important matters, yet that this which I have assigned is the only scope of the book, will appear manifest to every one, as well from the beginning and the end, as from the economy of the whole. For it first of all presents the sophist quibbling, chicaning, and indulging himself in all the imaginable methods of false reasoning: and soon after, as the course of disputation required, resting on his own authority, and loading his adversary with personal calumnies; yet at length, by the force of truth and good logic, brought back to the point; confuted, exposed, and put to silence." Now if I should say this of the book of Chillingworth, would it not be as true, and as much to the purpose, as what our author hath said of the book of Job? The matters in the discourse of *the Religion of Protestants* could not be treated as they are without exhibiting the two characters of a Sophist and a true Logician. Nor could the matters in the book of Job be treated as they are without exhibiting a good man in afflictions, complaining and expostulating; impatient under the contradiction of his friends, yet at length brought back to a due submission, and knowledge of himself. But therefore, to make this the *sole* or *chief Scope* of the book, (for in this he varies) is perverting all the rules of interpretation. But what misled him we have taken notice of above. And he himself points to it, where he says,—*the subject I have assigned to the book of Job appears the true both from the* BEGINNING *and the* END. It is true, he adds, and *from the economy of the whole* likewise.

Which he endeavours to prove in this manner: *For it first presents Job complaining, expostulating, and indulging himself in an ungovernable grief: but soon after (when, as the nature of the sacred drama required, by the contradiction of his friends, and their sinister suspicions, he became more and more teased and irritated) rashly challenging God, and glorying in his own integrity: yet at length brought back to a due submission*

submission and knowledge of himself; and then at last, and not before, receiving from God both the reward and testimony of his uprightness. This is indeed a fair account of the CONDUCT of the drama. And from this it appears, first, that that which he assigns for the SOLE SCOPE of the book cannot be the true. For if its design were to give *a perpetual document of humility and patience*, how comes it to pass, that the author, in the execution of this design, represents *Job complaining, expostulating, and indulging himself in an ungovernable grief, rashly challenging God, and glorying in his own integrity?* Could a painter, think you, in order to represent the ease and safety of navigation, draw a vessel getting with much pains and difficulty into harbour, after having lost all her lading and been miserably torn and shattered by a tempest? and yet you think a writer, in order to give a *document of humility and patience*, had sufficiently discharged his plan, if he made Job conclude *resigned and submissive*, though he had drawn him turbulent, inpatient, and almost blasphemous throughout the whole piece. Secondly, it appears from the learned Author's account of the *conduct* of the drama, that that which I have assigned for the *sole Scope* of the book is the true. For if, in Job's distressful circumstances, the question concerning an equal or unequal providence were to be debated: His friends, if they held the former part, must needs doubt of his integrity; this doubt would naturally provoke Job's indignation; and, when it was persisted in, cause him to fly out into the intemperate excesses so well described by the learned Doctor: yet conscious innocence would at length enable patience to do its office, and the conclusive argument for his integrity would be his resignation and submission.

The learned Writer sums up the argument thus. Ex his inquam apparet, non primario agi in hoc libro de providentia, sive æquali, sive inæquali, sed de personali Jobi integritate. *From all this, I say, it appears,*

pears, that the personal integrity of Job, and not the question concerning an equal or unequal Providence, is the principal subject of the book. He had before only told us his *opinion*; and now, from his opinion, he says it *appears*. But the appearances, we see, are deceitful; and so they will always be, when they arise only out of the fancy or inclination of the Critic, and not from the nature of things.

But he proceeds. Hanc enim (quod omnino observandum est) in dubium vocaverant amici, non ideo tantum quod afflictus esset, sed quod afflictus impatientius se gereret, Deique justitiæ obmurmuraret: et qui strenuus videlicet aliorum hortator fuerat ad fortitudinem et constantiam, quum ipse tentaretur, victus labasceret. *For that* [i.e. his personal integrity] *it was which his friends doubted of, not so much on account of his affliction, as for the not bearing his affliction with patience, but murmuring at the justice of God. And that he who was a strenuous adviser of others to fortitude and constancy, should, when his own trial came, sink under the stroke of his disasters.* —But why not *on account of his afflictions?* Do not we find that even now, under this unequal distribution of things, censorious men (and such doubtless he will confess Job's comforters to have been) are but too apt to suspect great afflictions for the punishment of secret sins. How much more prone to the same suspicion would such men be in the time of Job, when the ways of Providence were more equal? As to his *impatience in bearing affliction*, that symptom was altogether ambiguous, and might as likely denote want of fortitude as want of innocence; and proceed as well from the pain of an ulcerated body, as the anguish of a distracted conscience.

Well, our Author has brought the Patriarch thus far on his way, to expose his *bad temper*. From hence he accompanies him to his place of rest; which, as many an innocent man's is, he makes to be in a *bad argument*. Quum accesserat sanctissimi viri malis,

hæc

hæc gravissima omnium tentatio, ut tanquam improbus et hypocrita ab amicis damnaretur, et quod unicum ei supererat, conscientiæ suæ testimonio ac solatio, quantum ipsi potuerunt, privandus foret, quid misero faciendum erat? Amicos perfidiæ crudelitatis arguit: Deum integritatis suæ testem vindicemque appellat: quum autem nec Deus interveniret, ad innocentiam ejus vindicandam, nec remitterent quicquam amici de acerbis suis censuris, injustisque criminationibus, ad SUPREMUM ILLUD JUDICIUM provocat, in quo REDEMPTOREM sibi affuturum, Deumque a suis partibus staturum, summa cum fiducia se novisse affirmat. *Now when* (says the learned Writer) *the most grievous trial of all was added to the other evils of this holy person; to be condemned by his friends as a profligate, and an hypocrite, and to be deprived, as much as in them lay, of his only remaining support, the Testimony of a good conscience, What was left for the unhappy man to do? He accuses his friends of perfidy and cruelty; he calls upon God as the witness and avenger of his integrity: But when neither God interposed to vindicate his innocence, nor his friends forbore to urge their harsh censures and unjust accusations, he appeals to that* LAST JUDGEMENT, *in which with the utmost confidence he affirms that he knew that his* REDEEMER *would be present to him, and that God would declare in his favour.* To understand the force of this representation, we must have in mind this unquestionable truth; "That, be the subject of the book what it will, yet if the sacred Writer bring in the persons of the drama disputing, he will take care that they talk with *decorum* and to the purpose." Now we both agree that Job's friends had pretended at least to suspect his integrity. This suspicion it was Job's business to remove; and, if the Doctor's account of the subject be right, his only business. To this end he offers various arguments, which failing of their effect, he at last (as the Doctor will have it) appeals to the SECOND COMING OF THE REDEEMER OF MANKIND.

But

But was this likely to satisfy them? They demand a present solution of their doubts, and he sends them to a future judgment. Nor can our Author say (though he would insinuate) that this was such a sort of appeal as disputants are sometimes forced to have recourse to, when they are run aground and have nothing more to offer: For Job, after this, proceeds in the dispute; and urges many other arguments with the utmost propriety. Indeed there is one way, and but one, to make the appeal pertinent: and that is, to suppose our Author mistaken, when he said that the *personal integrity of Job, and not the question concerning an equal or unequal Providence, was the main subject of the book:* And we may venture to suppose so, without much danger of doing him wrong: for, the doctrine of a *future judgment* affords a principle whereon to determine the *question of an equal or unequal Providence*; but it leaves the *personal integrity of Job* just as it found it. But the learned Author is so little solicitous for the *pertinency* of the argument, that he makes, as we shall now see, its *impertinence* to be one of the great supports of his system. For thus he concludes his argument. Jam vero si cardo controversiæ fuisset, utrum, salva Dei justitia, sancti in hac vita, adfligi possent, hæc ipsa declarati litem finire debuerat. Sin autem de personali Jobi innocentia disceptetur, nil mirum quod veterem canere cantilenam, Jobumque ut fecerant, condemnare pergerent socii, quum Dei solius erat, qui corda hominum explorat, pro certo scire; an jure merito sibi Jobus hoc solamen attribueret, an falsam sibi fiduciam vanus arrogaret. *But now if the hinge of the controversy had turned on this, Whether or no, consistently with God's justice, good men could be afflicted in this life, this declaration ought to have finished the debate: but if the question were concerning the personal innocence of Job, it was no wonder that they still sung their old song, and went on as they had begun, to condemn their much-afflicted friend; since it was in the power of God alone to*

explore the hearts of men, and to know for certain whether it was Job's piety that rightly applied a consolation, or whether it was his vanity that arrogated a false confidence to himself. This is a very pleasant way of coming to the sense of a disputed passage: Not, as of old, by shewing it supports the *Writer's argument*, but by shewing it supports the *Critic's hypothesis*. I had taken it for granted that Job reasoned to the purpose, and therefore urged this argument against understanding him as speaking of the *Resurrection* in the xixth chapter. "The disputants (say I) "are all equally embarrassed in adjusting the ways "of Providence. Job affirms that the good man is "sometimes unhappy; the three friends pretend that "he never can be so; because such a situation would "reflect upon God's justice. Now the doctrine of a "*Resurrection* supposed to be urged by Job, cleared "up all this embarras. If therefore his friends "thought it true, it ended the dispute; if false, it lay "upon them to confute it. Yet they do neither: "They neither call it into question, nor allow it to be "decisive. But without the least notice that any "such thing had been urged, they go on as they began, "to inforce their former arguments, and to confute "that which they seem to understand was the only "one Job had urged against them; viz. the conscious-"ness of his own innocence."—Now what says our learned Critic to this? Why, he says, that if I be mistaken, and he be right in his account of the book of Job, the reason is plain why the three friends took no notice of Job's appeal to a Resurrection; namely, because it deserved none. As to his being in the right, the reader, I suppose, will not be greatly solicitous, if it be one of the consequences that the sacred Reasoner is in the wrong. However, before we allow him to be right, it will be expected he should answer the following questions. If, as he says, the point in the book of Job was *only his personal innocence*, and this, not (as I say) upon the PRINCIPLE of *no inno-*

cent

cent person being miserable; I would ask how it was possible that Job's friends and intimates should be so obstinately bent on pronouncing him guilty, the purity of whose former life and conversation they were so well acquainted with? If he will say, the disputants went upon that PRINCIPLE, I then ask how came Job's appeal to a Resurrection not to silence his opposers? as it accounted for the justice of God in the present unequal distribution of things.

P. 323. [Q] *This is one thing* (says Job) *therefore I said it*, HE DESTROYETH THE PERFECT WITH THE WICKED, ch. ix. 22. as much as to say, this is the point or general question between us, and I stick to the affirmative, and insist upon its truth. The words which follow are remarkable. It had been objected, that when the good man suffered, it was for a trial; to this Job replies: *If the scourge slay suddenly, he will laugh at the trial of the innocent*, ver. 23. *suddenly*, or *indiscriminately*, as Schultens rightly understands it; as much as to say, when the sword devours the innocent and the wicked man without distinction, if the innocent will distinguish his ill hap from the wicked man's, and call it a *trial*, the wicked man will mock at him; and indeed not without some shew of reason.

P. 323. [R] " Supposing (says the Cornish Answerer) we should allow such an *equal Providence* " to have been administered in *Judæa*; yet, since he " himself reckons it the utmost extravagance to suppose it any where else; what an idea does he give " us of the talents of *Ezra!* who, according to him, " has introduced persons who were no Jews debating " a question so palpably absurd as that it NEVER " *entered into the head of any one man living to make* " *a question of it out of the land of Judæa!* consequently could not with the least probability or " propriety be handled by any but Jews. Is this

" like one who, he would make us to believe, was *a* " *careful observer of Decorum?* certainly the rule of " Decorum would have obliged him reddere personæ, " &c. as Horace speaks—either to look out for proper " persons to debate his questions, or to fit his question " to the persons." I should have reason to complain of this insolence of Language, so habitual to these Answerers, did it not always carry its own punishment along with it. For, look, in proportion to their rudeness, is generally their folly, or ill faith.—*Supposing* (says this man) *we should allow such an equal Providence*, &c.—Now, when the Reader considers I am only contending for the *actual* administration of such a providence as the Bible, in almost every page, represents to have been administered, will he not naturally suppose this to be some infidel-writer making a gracious concession even at the expence of his own cause? But when he is told that the writer is a minister of the Gospel, will he not conclude that his head is turned with the rage of *Answering?*

He tells his Reader that I say, " That the debated " question in the book of Job could NEVER enter " into the head of any man living out of the land of " Judæa." Now, the very words from whence he pretends to deduce this proposition, convict him of imposture.—*This* (say I) *could never have been made matter of dispute*, FROM THE MOST EARLY SUPPOSED TIME OF JOB'S EXISTENCE EVEN TO OURS, *in any place out of the land of Judea.* Which surely implies it might have been a question *then*; or why did I restrain the case to the times *since* Job's existence? Was it for nothing? In fact I was well apprised (and saw the advantages I could derive from it) that the question might as reasonably have been debated at the time when Job lived, as at the time when, I supposed, the book of Job was written. But as this was a matter reserved for another place, I contented myself with the hint conveyed in this limitation, which just served to lay in my claim to the use I should

hereafter

hereafter have for it. The truth is, the state of God's providence *in the most early supposed time of Job's existence* is a subject I shall have occasion to consider at large in the last volume of this Work, where I employ it, amongst other proofs, to illustrate and confirm the conclusion of my general argument by one entire view of the harmony which reigns through all the various parts of the Divine Government as administered over man. Of this my Answerers have no conception. Their talents are only fitted to consider *parts*, and such talents best suit their business, which is, to find fault. —They will say, they were not obliged to wait. But who obliged them to write? And if they should wait longer, they will have no reason to complain: For the cloudy and imperfect conception they have of my argument as it now stands, is the most commodious situation for the carrying on their trade. However, whether they prefer the light of common sense to this darkness occasioned by the absence of it, or the friendly twilight of Polemics to both, I shall not go out of my way to gratify their humour. I have said enough to expose this silly cavil of our Cornish Critic, and to vindicate the knowledge of the writer of the book of Job, and his observance of *decorum*, in opening a beauty in the contrivance of this work, which these Answerers were not aware of.

P. 324. [S] *The Use and Intent of Prophecy, &c.* p. 208. 3d edit.—Grotius thinks the book was written for the consolation of the descendants of Esau, carried away in the Babylonish captivity; apparently, as the same writer observes, to avoid the absurdity arising from the supposition confuted above; and yet, as he farther observes, Grotius, in endeavouring to avoid one difficulty, has fallen into another. For, suppose *it writ* (says the Author of The Use and Intent of Prophecy, &c.) *for the children of Esau, they were idolaters; and yet is there no allusion to their idolatry in all this book. And what ground is there to think*

they were so righteous as to deserve such an interpretation to be put upon their sufferings, as the book of Job puts on them, if so be it was written for their sakes? Or can it be imagined, that a book writ about the time supposed, for the use of an idolatrous nation, and odious to the Jews, could ever have been received into the Jewish canon? p. 208. These are strong objections, and will oblige us to place this opinion amongst the singularities of the excellent Grotius.

P. 330. [T] "Here (says the Cornish Critic) take "the poem in the other light, as an *allegoric* fiction, "and what could it possibly afford besides a very *odd* "*amusement?* for the truth of history is destroyed: "and we have nothing in the room of it, but a mon- "strous jumble of times and persons brought toge- "ther, that were in reality separated from each other "by the distance of a thousand or twelve hundred "years. Had the author been able to produce but "one precedent of this sort amongst the writings of "the ancients, it might have afforded some counte- "nance to this opinion; but, I believe, it would be dif- "ficult to find it." p. 47. What then, I beseech you, becomes of *Solomon's Song*, if you will not allow it to be a *precedent of this sort?* Here, in the opinion of the Church, as appears by the insertion of it into the Canon, or at least in the opinion of such Churchmen as our Critic, Solomon, under the cover of a love-tale, or amorous intrigue between him and an Egyptian lady, has represented Christ's union and marriage with the Church. Surely, the patience or impatience of Job had a nearer relation *in nature* to the patience or impatience of the Jewish People, than Solomon's love intrigue had, *in grace*, to the salvation obtained by Jesus Christ. Yet this we are to deem no odd amusement for the WISE MAN. But for a Prophet, to employ the story of Job, to reprove the errors of the People committed to his care, and to inform them of an approaching change in their Dispensation, is by no means

means to be endured. What! has this great Critic never heard that, amongst the *writings of the ancients*, there was a certain allegoric piece known by the name of *The Judgment of Hercules*, written by a Grecian SAGE, to excite the youth of his time to the pursuit of virtue, and to withstand the allurements of pleasure? HERCULES was as well known by history and tradition to the Greeks, as JOB was to the Jews. Did that polite people think this an *odd amusement?* Did they think the *truth of History destroyed by it; and nothing left in its room but a monstrous jumble of times and persons, brought together, that were in reality separated from each other by the distance of a thousand or twelve hundred years?* for so many at least there were between the age of Hercules and the young Men of the time of Prodicus. Or does this Cornish Critic imagine, that the Sages of Greece took the Allegory for History: or believed any more of a real rencontre between Virtue, Pleasure, and young Hercules, than Maimonides did of that solemn meeting of the Devil and the Sons of God before the throne of the Almighty?

But that curious remark of *destroying the truth of History* deserves a little further canvassing. I suppose, when Jesus transferred the story of the Prodigal and his sober Brother to the Gentiles and the Jews, and when St. John transferred Babylon to Rome, in allegory, that they *destroyed the truth of History.* When ancient and modern dramatic Writers take their subject from History, and make free with facts to adapt their plot to the nature of their poem, Do they *destroy the truth of History?* Yet in their case there is only one barrier to this imaginary mischief, namely the *Drama:* In the book of Job, there are two, both the *Drama* and the *Allegory.* But after all, some hurt it may do, amongst Readers of the size of this Answerer, when they mistake the book of Job for a piece of Biography, like the men *Ben Jonson* laughs at, who, for greater exactness, chose to read the History of England in Shakespear's Tragedies.

P. 330. [U] But the Cornish Critic, who has no conception that even a patient man may, on some occasions, break out into impatient heats, insists on the *impropriety* of Job's representing the Israelites of Ezra's time. "To represent the murmuring and impatient Jews (says he) it seems Ezra takes a person "who was exemplary for the contrary quality—and "then, to adapt him to his purpose, makes him break "out into such excesses of impatience as border on "blasphemy." p. 50. I doubt there is a small matter amiss in this fine observation. The Author of *The Divine Legation* did not write the book of Job: therefore whatever discordancy there be between the Tradition of his patience and the written History of him in this book, it is just the same, whether JOB or whether EZRA wrote it. After so illustrious a specimen of his critical acumen, he may lie in bed, and cry out with the old Athlet,

Cæstum artemque repono.

However, he meant well, and intended that this supposed absurdity should fall upon the Author of *The Divine Legation*, and not upon the Canon of Scripture. In the mean time the truth is, there is no absurdity at all, but what lies in his own cloudy pericranium. Whether the traditionary Job represented the Israelites or not, it is certain, he might with much decorum represent them. And this the following words of *The Divine Legation* might have taught our Critic, had he had but so much candour as to do justice to a Stranger, whom he would needs make his Enemy.—"It is remarkable, "that Job, from the beginning of his misfortunes to "the coming of his three comforters, though greatly "provoked by his wife, *sinned not with his lips*; but, "persecuted by the malice and bitterness of his false "friends, he began to lay so much stress on his innocence as even to accuse God of injustice. This was "the very state of the Jews of this time; so exactly "has the sacred Writer conducted his allegory; They

" bore their straits and difficulties with temper till their " enemies Sanballat, Tobiah, and the Arabians, gave " them so much disturbance; and then they fell into " indecent murmurs against God." But lest our Answerer should again mistake this, for a defence of the Author of the Divine Legation, and not of Ezra, let him try, if he can reconcile the traditional patience of Job with the several strokes of impatience in the written book, upon any other principle than this, That the most patient man alive may be provoked into starts of impatience, by a miserable Caviller, who, being set upon *Answering* what he does not understand, represents falsely, interprets perversely, and, when he is unable to make the *Doctrine* odious, endeavours to make the *Person* so, who holds it. In conclusion, however, thus much is fit to be observed, that if the sole or main intention of the Writer of the book of Job (be he whom he will) were to exhibit an example of Patience, he has executed his design very ill; certainly in so perverse a manner that, from this book, the fame of Job's exemplary Patience could never have arisen. Hence I conclude in favour of an Hypothesis which solves this difficulty, by distinguishing between Job's traditional and written story. But now comes a Cornish Critic, and makes this very *circumstance*, which I urged for the support of my Hypothesis, an objection to it. Yet he had grounds for his observation, such as they were; He dreamt, for he could not be awake, that I had *invented* the *circumstance*, whereas I only *found* it.

P. 340. [X] The different situations in which this Folly operated in *ancient* and *modern* times, is very observable. In the simplicity of the early ages, while men were at their ease, that general opinion, so congenial to the human mind, of *a God and his moral government*, was too strong ever to be brought in question. It was when they found themselves miserable and in distress, that they began to complain; to question

tion the justice, or to deny the existence of a Deity: On the contrary, amongst us, disastrous times are the season of reflection, repentance, and reliance on Providence. It is affluence and abundance which now give birth to a wanton sufficiency, never thoroughly gratified till it have thrown off all the restraints of Religion.

I imagine it may not be difficult to account for so strange a contrariety in the manners of Men.

In the ancient World, the belief of a moral Providence was amongst their most incontested principles. But concerning the nature and extent of this Providence they had indeed very inadequate conceptions: being misled by the *extraordinary* manner in which the first exertions of it were manifested, to expect more instant and immediate protection than the nature of the *Dispensation* afforded. So that these men being, in their own opinion, the most worthy object of Providence's concern, whenever they became pressed by civil or domestic distresses, supposed all to be lost, and the world without a Governor.

But in these modern ages of vice and refinement, when every blessing is abused, and, amongst the first, that greatest of all, LIBERTY, each improvement of the mind, as well as each accommodation of the body, is perverted into a species of *luxury*; exercised and employed for amusement, to gratify the Fancy or the Appetites, as each, in their turn, happens to influence the Will. Hence even the FIRST PHILOSOPHY, the science of Nature itself, bows to this general abuse. It is made to act against its own ordinances, and to support those impieties it was authorized to suppress.—But now, when calamity, distress, and all the evils of those abused blessings have, by their severe but wholesome discipline, restored recollection and vigour to the relaxed and dissipated mind, the dictates of Nature are again attended to: the impious principles of false Science, and the false conclusions of the true, are shaken off as a hideous dream; and the abused Victim

of

of his vanity and his pleasure flies for refuge to that only Asylum of Humanity, RELIGION.

P. 340. [Y] Thus both *Sacro* and *Sacer* have, in Latin, contrary significations. The reason is evident. Some things were *consecrated* and some *devoted* to the Gods: those were *holy*; these *execrable*. So God being invoked sometimes to *bless*, and sometimes to *curse*, the invocation was expressed by one word, which had contrary senses. And this agreeable to the genius of language in general.

P. 344. [Z] The Cornish Critic says—"Above all, "and to support the allegory in its most concerning "circumstances, as the Jews were obliged to put "away their idolatrous wives, so Job should have put "away his, in the upshot of the Fable. This would "CERTAINLY have been done, had such an allegory "been intended as Mr. W. supposes." p. 66. Let this man alone for his distributive justice. I thought, when, in the conclusion of the book, we have a detailed account of Job's whole family, his sons, his daughters, and his cattle, and that we hear nothing of his wife (and, I ween, she would have been heard of had she been there), the Writer plainly enough insinuated that Job had somehow or other got rid of this Affliction, with the rest. But nothing else will serve our Righter of wrongs but a formal bill of divorce.—Indeed I suspect, a light expression I chanced to make use of, gave birth to this ingenious objection. See above, p. 339.

P. 356. [AA] Divine Wisdom procures many *ends* by one and the same *mean*; so here, besides this use, of throwing the Reader's attention entirely on the *Serpent*, it had another, *viz.* to make the *Serpent*, which was of the most sacred and venerable regard in the Mysterious Religion of Egypt, the object of the Israelites' utter abhorrence and detestation.

P. 365. [BB] To this Dr. Grey says, that the three friends likewise accuse Job of his *present* faults. Well, and what then? Does this acquit them of injustice for falsely charging him with *preceding* ones?

P. 371. [CC] Indeed, had the book of Job the high antiquity which the common system supposes, the contending at the same time for the *spiritual* sense of this text, would be followed with insuperable difficulties: but these, let the supporters of that System look to. The very learned Author of *the Argument of the Divine Legation fairly stated, &c.* hath set these difficulties in a light which, I think, shews them to be insuperable: "Those men (says this excellent writer) who maintain "this system, [of the *high antiquity* of the book, and "the *spiritual* sense of the text] must needs regard the "text to be *direct and literal*, not *typical or figurative*. "But then this difficulty occurs, How came MOSES "(if he was the Author) to be so clear in the *book of "Job*, and so obscure in the *Pentateuch?* Plain ex- "pression and typical adumbration are the contrary "of one another. They could not *both* be fit for the "same people, at the same time. If they were a "spiritualized People, they had no need of carnal "covers, such as Types; and if they were a carnal- "minded people, the light of spiritual things would "only serve to dazzle, not to aid their sight.

"Nor is the matter mended, but made worse, by "supposing the book to be written by JOB himself, or "any other Patriarch earlier than Moses: That "would be only transferring the Charge from *Moses*, "to the *God of Moses:* For while the *book of Job* "was designed by Providence, for part of the *Jewish "Canon*, it is the same unaccountable conduct though "removed thither. The RESURRECTION is open and "exposed to all in the *book of Job*; and it is hid and "covered under types and figures in the *Pentateuch*. "From whence arises this noble truth worthy of its "inventers, *That the same doctrine may, at one and*

"*the*

" *the same time, be the proper object both of clear* " *and manifest, and of dark and uncertain contem-* " *plation, to the same Persons.*" p. 134.

P. 376. [DD] Here the Cornish Critic observes, " That it does not appear that Job had any particular " revelation of it, [i. e. his future felicity]; and there- " fore his confidence (if he had any such) must " proceed upon some such principle as this, That " God would at length infallibly deliver the good Man " out of trouble. And again, this principle must be " founded on that other of an equal Providence: " from whence otherwise could it arise but from a " persuasion that God will most certainly do what is " equal and exact in this life? And yet the ingenious " Author, as if fond of reconciling contradictions, " makes Job's Thesis to be this, *that Providence is* " *not equally administered*, at the same time, that he " ascribes to him a confidence which could NOT " POSSIBLY arise but from the persuasion *of an equal* " *Providence.*" p. 156.

I make Job hold *that Providence was not equally administered.* I make him to hold likewise, *that he himself should be restored to his former felicity:* And this, our Critic calls a CONTRADICTION. His reason is, that this latter opinion could arise only from his *persuasion of an equal Providence.* This may be true, if there be no medium between an equal Providence and no Providence at all. But I suspect there is such a medium, from observing that it is not uncommon, even in these times, for good men in affliction, to have this very confidence of Job, without ever dreaming of an *equal Providence.*

The truth is (and so I have said in the words which gave occasion to this notable observation) that Job had through the distemperature of passion advanced some things which on cooler thoughts he retracted. His argument against an *equal Providence* was sometimes pushed so far as to have the appearance of concluding

against

against any Providence at all. But he, at length, corrects himself for this extravagance of expression; and deliberately concludes, that though the ways of God were somehow or other become unequal, yet that Providence had not deserted the case of mankind, but would at length bring the good man out of trouble. Yet *this is the confidence, which*, this most confident of all Critics says, *could* NOT POSSIBLY *arise but from the persuasion of an equal Providence:* And for this it is that he charges me with a *fondness for reconciling contradictions.* Here I shall take my leave of this Discourser on the book of Job, with declaring, that a more contemptuous, disingenuous, and ignorant Writer, never assumed the *honourable* name of ANSWERER; yet I would not deny him his station amongst the Learned. I think the same apology may be made for him, that a namesake of his, in his history of the Carthusians, made for their general Bruno, — "that "doubtless he could have wrote well if he would, "for he printed a Missal in an exceeding fair letter, "and *delicate fine writing paper.*" PETREI Bib. Carth. fol. 35.

P. 389. [FF] This wicked fancy some early *Christian* Writers seem to have gone far into; particularly ORIGEN; who, because Celsus had supposed, absurdly enough, that the propagators of the Gospel had borrowed the Doctrine of a *future state* from the Pagan Philosophers, was resolved not to be outdone, and therefore tells his adversary, "that where GOD says in the book of Moses, which was older than all the Pagan writings, *I am come down to deliver them out of the hand of the Egyptians, and to bring them up out of that land, unto a good land and a large; unto a land flowing with milk and honey; unto the place of the Canaanites, and the Hittites, and the Amorites, and the Perizzites, and the Hivites, and the Jebusites* [Exod. iii. 8.] he did not mean, as ignorant men imagine, the *country of Judea*, but the *kingdom of heaven*; for that

that how good a land soever Judea might be, it was yet part of that earth which had been put under the curse, and therefore," &c — ἐχ ὁρῶν ὅτι Μωϋσῆς, ὁ πολλῷ καὶ τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν γραμμάτων ἀρχαιότερος, εἰσήγαγε τὸν Θεὸν ἐπαγγελλόμενον τὴν ἁγίαν γῆν, καὶ ἀγαθὴν καὶ πολλὴν, ῥέουσαν γάλα καὶ μέλι, τοῖς καλὰ τὸν νόμον ἑαυτῷ βιώσασιν· ἀφ' ὡς οἴονταί τινες τὴν ἀγαθὴν, τὴν κάτω νομιζομένην Ἰουδαίαν, κειμένην καὶ αὐτὴν ἐν τῇ ἀρχῇθεν καθηραμένῃ ἐν τοῖς ἔργοις τῆς παραβάσεως τὸ Ἀδὰμ γῆ. Cont. Cels. p. 350. He that can rave at this strange rate must needs consider the whole sanction of *temporal* reward and punishment as a mere figurative representation of *future*. But is not the hearkening to such Interpreters exposing divine Revelation to the contempt and scorn of Infidels and Free-thinkers? And yet perhaps we must be obliged to hearken to them, if the endeavours of these Answerers become successful in proving the NON-EXISTENCE of the *extraordinary Providence* (as promised by Moses) against the reasoning of the D. L. that it was ACTUALLY administered, in pursuance of that promise. For, by Origen's Commentaries (published by Huetius) it appears, that he was led into this strange opinion by taking it for granted, as Sykes, Rutherforth, Stebbing, and such like writers have since done, that under the Law, the best and most pious men were frequently miserable, and the wicked prosperous and happy.

P. 413. [GG] One of these Answerers of this Work employs much pains to prove that these words could not mean, *That it was to be well with them that fear God* IN THE PRESENT LIFE. Rutherforth, p. 363. i.e. he will prove, the words could not bear a sense to which they are limited and tied down by the words immediately following,—*But it shall not be well with the wicked,* NEITHER SHALL HE PROLONG HIS DAYS. —What is to be done with such a man?

P. 418. [HH] Which (to observe it by the way) unanswerably confutes that Semi pagan Dream of the

soul's

soul's sleeping till the resurrection of the body. And yet, what is strange to tell, this very text, in the course of disputation, which, like the course of time, *brings things*, as the Poet says,

—to their confounding contraries,

hath been urged to prove *that sleep*, or *no separate life*; and this, by no less considerable a man than Mr. HALES of Eaton. *Christ* (saith he) *proveth the future resurrection of the dead from thence, that God is the God of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, but is not the God of the dead, but of the living.* Whence he concludeth, that *they live to God, that is,* SHALL BE *recalled to life by God, that he may manifest himself to be their God or Benefactor. This argument would be altogether fallacious, if before the Resurrection they felt heavenly joy: For then God would be their God or Benefactor, namely, according to their souls, although their bodies should never rise again* *. All which is a mere complication of mistakes: as is, indeed, his whole reasoning from Scripture, throughout that chapter.—But they who hold the soul to be only a quality, and yet talk of its *sleep* between death and the resurrection, use a jargon which confounds all languages as well as all reason. For such a *sleep* is an annihilation; and the *waking* again, a new creation.

P. 419. [H] "Though this argument was a *new* "*one*, (says Dr. Rutherforth) though the Pharisees "had never made this inference, and that therefore it "does not appear from hence, that Moses *inculcated* "the Doctrine of a future state; yet as it was a con- "clusive argument, as it was an inference which "*might have been made*, it will prove to us that Moses "was not *studious to conceal* this doctrine, nor pur- "posely omitted every thing that might bring his "Reader acquainted with those notices of Redemp- "tion and of another life, which the Patriarchs were

* A brief Inquiry, chap. viii.

"favoured

" favoured with." p. 318. This is a coup de la Maître, indeed: as wittily urged as it was wisely meditated.—*If Moses bring a conclusive argument for a doctrine, it is plain he could not be studious to conceal that doctrine*, says our ingenious Professor.—If Roger Bacon, say I, have given, in his writings, a true receipt to make Gunpowder, he *could not be studious* to conceal the composition. And yet we know he was studious to conceal it. What reasons he had for so doing, and how consistent it was with his giving the receipt, I leave to this profound Philosopher; and shall content myself with shewing how consistent Moses was in the conduct I have ascribed to him.—If both Moses's pretensions and those of Jesus likewise were true, the former must needs observe this conduct, in his Institute; that is to say, he would *omit* the doctrine of another life, and, at the same time, interweave into the Law such a secret mark of its truth, that, when the other Institution came, it might be clear to all, that he both knew and believed the Doctrine.—If Moses had not *omitted* it, he had intruded on the province of Jesus: If he had not *laid the grounds* on which it rises, he had neglected to provide for the proof of that connexion between the two Dispensations, necessary to shew the harmony between their respective Authors. Moses had done both: And from both I gather that he was *studious to conceal the doctrine*. The *omission* will be allowed to be one proof of it; and I should think, this use of a term, *The God of Abraham*, &c. is another proof. For, the Jews, who, from the ceasing of the extraordinary Providence, continued for many ages with incessant labour to ransack their Bibles for a proof of a future state, could never draw the inference from this text till Jesus had taught them the way. No, says the Doctor, *How should an argument used by Moses, for a future state, be a proof that Moses was studious to conceal it?* This Argument going, as we now see, upon our Professor's utter ignorance of the

nature and genius of the Mosaic Dispensation, (which required as much that the grounds of a *future state* should be laid, as that the Structure itself should be kept out of sight) I shall leave it in possession of that admiration which it so well deserves.

P. 422. [KK] Here, the groundless conceit of the learned Mosheim [de reb. Christ. ante Const. p. 49.] is sufficiently refuted. He supposes a *Sadducee* to be represented under the person of the *rich Man*. But the authority of the PROPHETS, to which Abraham refers his houshold, was not acknowledged by the Sadducees, as of weight to decide, in this point. And yet the very words of Abraham suppose that their not *hearing the Prophets* did not proceed from their not *believing*, but from their not *regarding*.

P. 444. [LL] But all are not *Arnaulds*, in the Gallican Church. Mr. *Freret*, speaking of the history of Saul and a passage in Isaiah, concerning the invocation of the dead, says—*Ce qui augmente ma surprise, c'est de voir, que la plus part de ces Commentateurs se plaignent, de ne trouver dans l'Ecriture aucune preuve claire que les Juifs, au temps de Moyse, crussent l'immortalité de l'ame.*—La pratique, interdite aux Juifs, suppose que l'existence des ames, separées du corps, par la mort, etoit alors un opinion générale & populaire. Memoires de l'Acad. Royale des Inscript, &c. v. 23. p. 185.—The Gentleman's *surprise* arises from his being unable to distinguish between *the separate existence of the Soul* considered physically, and its *immortality* considered in a religious sense: It is under this latter consideration that *a future state of reward and punishment* is included. Had he not confounded these two things so different in themselves, he had never ventured to condemn the *Commentators*; who do indeed say, they cannot find this latter doctrine in the Pentateuch. But then, they do not *lament or complain* of this want; because they

saw, though this Academician does not, that the absence of the doctrine of *a future State of reward and punishment* in the MOSAIC LAW evinces its imperfection, and verifies the enunciation of the *Gospel*, that LIFE AND IMMORTALITY *were brought to light by* JESUS CHRIST.

END OF THE FIFTH VOLUME.

London: Printed by Luke Hansard & Sons,
near Lincoln's-Inn Fields.

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